

# Development of Nāgarī Script

I	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ
KA	क	क	क	क	क
KHA	ख	ख	ख	ख	ख
GIA	ग	ग	ग	ग	ग
JA	ज	ज	ज	ज	ज
NA	न	न	न	न	न
TA	त	त	त	त	त
NA	न	न	न	न	न
PA	प	प	प	प	प
BHA	भ	भ	भ	भ	भ
MA	म	म	म	म	म
YA	य	य	य	य	य
VA	व	व	व	व	व
ŚA	श	श	श	श	श

**A.K. SINGH**

Nāgarī is the outcome of evolutionary process of Mauryan Brāhmī script and any consideration on its independent origin is superfluous. From Mauryan to the middle of the sixth century A.D., only a few letters resemble counterparts in Nāgarī. While towards the end of the sixth century, with the emergence of the Kuṭila alphabet, the development in alphabet towards Nāgarī moves fast. Most of the letters, from the 7th century onwards undergo the process of development in forms of the letters with only the difference of full covering head-line and straight vertical. All characteristics of the Nāgarī appear first about the end of the 10th century and approaches mature Nāgarī form by the 13th century A.D.

There are some variations in the Nāgarī script of different regions due to various factors, namely the writing material, the writing technique, different schools of writers and engravers and their individual interest and mannerisms, etc. However, script maintains a sort of unity during the developmental process.

Dr. A K Singh is a faculty in the School of Studies in Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Jiwaji University, Gwalior (M.P.) He obtained his master's Degree in two disciplines, Ancient Indian History Culture and Archaeology; and Museology and a Ph D from the Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi. Dr. Singh was awarded the University medal and Anant Sadashiv Altekar medals for securing first position in order of merit in M.A. Examination. Banaras Hindu University Scholarship, Junior fellowship of University Grants Commission and Senior fellowship of Indian Council of Historical Research were awarded to him for his research work. Dr. Singh is deeply involved in researches for the last ten years or so, mostly in the fields of Palaeography and Epigraphy. He has more than fifteen research papers to his credit published in reputed journals.





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Vidyāpīṭham

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# DEVELOPMENT OF NĀGARĪ SCRIPT

A. K. Singh

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Dedicated

to

My Rev'd late Grand-father (Babaji)

## Preface

The Nāgarī script is now used over a large part of the Indian sub-continent for writing Sanskrit and some other Indian languages. But it is seldom realised by the common people that its origin lies in Brāhmī through a chain of successive variations. The question of the origin and development of Nāgarī has been summarily dealt with in the works on Indian palaeography and a few other writings, but so far we have had no independent work dealing with the subject in a scientific perspective. The present work aims at meeting this long-felt desideratum which is an out-come of my research for the degree of Ph.D. of the Banaras Hindu University.

I have investigated into the development of the Nāgarī Script only upto the 13th century A.D. This cut-off point has been chosen because by this time, the development of the Nāgarī alphabet reached its maturity and during the following centuries it became almost stagnant. The bulk of the work contains illustrations of alphabets selected from different inscriptions and manuscripts.

The present work is divided into seven chapters dealing with the different stages of the development of Nāgarī. The first one is an introduction dealing with the subjects, such as various theories on the name Nāgarī and Devanāgarī, its main features and also gives a fair idea of the nature of Mauryan Brāhmī tracing the development of individual letter-forms including ligatures and medial signs met with in this prototype. It also gives a reasonable account of various factors which were responsible for the development of the Brāhmī script. It is followed by a detailed account of the Kuṭila variety, a post-Gupta development from Brāhmī, which represents an important developmental stage between Brāhmī and

Nāgarī, in the next chapter. This Kuṭila script further developed into the proto-Nāgarī and forms the subject matter of the third chapter. The fourth chapter deals with the maturing of the Nāgarī script during the three centuries from 11th to 13th centuries towards the end of which the evolutionary process became almost stagnant. The pace of scriptal evolution in monumental records like stone and metallic inscriptions and manuscripts was not uniform. Hence Nāgarī alphabet, as found in manuscripts dating from the 11th to the 13th century A.D. is dwelt upon with the help of selected manuscripts in the fifth chapter. The next chapter is devoted to the development of numerals and other signs. The seventh chapter is the concluding one, dealing with the factors responsible for the development and migration of the script from one region to the other from time to time.

However, I am aware of the limitation and the methodological problems involved in this kind of work. It has not been practicable to examine each and every inscription, manuscript and coin in the original and therefore I have had to depend on photographic reproductions. Such photographs have their own limitations. It has also not been possible to illustrate all specimens, therefore only representative forms have been selected for illustration.

I am deeply indebted to all those scholars who have worked in the field of palaeography. Their studies served me as a valuable background in the completion of this work.

It is my privilege to express my sincere gratitude to all those persons who have helped me in various ways, to complete this work. First of all I am under a heavy debt of gratitude to my venerable teacher, Dr. T.P. Verma, Reader in the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi for his kind guidance and suggestions.

I am particularly thankful to Prof. M.A. Dhaky, Associate Director (Research), American Institute of Indian Studies, Ramnagar, Varanasi who went through the manuscript and gave valuable suggestions.



I express my sincere thanks to Prof. A.K. Narain, Prof. Lallanji Gopal, Prof. P. Singh, Prof. A.M. Shastri for their kind help.

My thanks are also due to my friends who have helped me in various ways, but whom it is not possible to list here.

My thanks are also due to the librarians of Banaras Hindu University; American Institute of Indian Studies; National Library; Asiatic Society of Bengal library; Asiatic Society of Bombay library for their kind help.

I am indebted to Prof. R.N. Misra, Dr. R.P. Pandey and Dr. B.R. Mani for their constant encouragement and support during the publication. Other colleagues and members of our School variously helped me. I am thankful to all of them.

Lastly, the author expresses his deep gratitude to M/s Parimal Publications not only for undertaking the publication of this work but also for publishing this work within the minimum period of time and with best possible get-up and printing.

Gwalior

A. K. Singh

## Transliteration Table

A	Ā	I	Ī	U	Ū	Ṛ	E	AI	O	AU	AM	Ḥ
अ	आ	इ	ई	उ	ऊ	ऋ	ए	ऐ	ओ	औ	अं	:
KA	KHA	GA	GHA	ṆA								
क	ख	ग	घ	ङ								
CHA	CHHA	JA	JHA	ÑA								
च	छ	ज	झ	ञ								
ṬA	ṬHA	ḌA	ḌHA	ṆA								
ट	ठ	ड	ढ	ण								
TA	THA	DA	DHA	NA								
त	थ	द	ध	न								
PA	PHA	BA	BHA	MA								
प	फ	ब	भ	म								
YA	RA	LA	VA	ŚA	SHA	SA	HA	KSHA				
य	र	ल	व	श	ष	स	ह	क्ष				

## Abbreviations

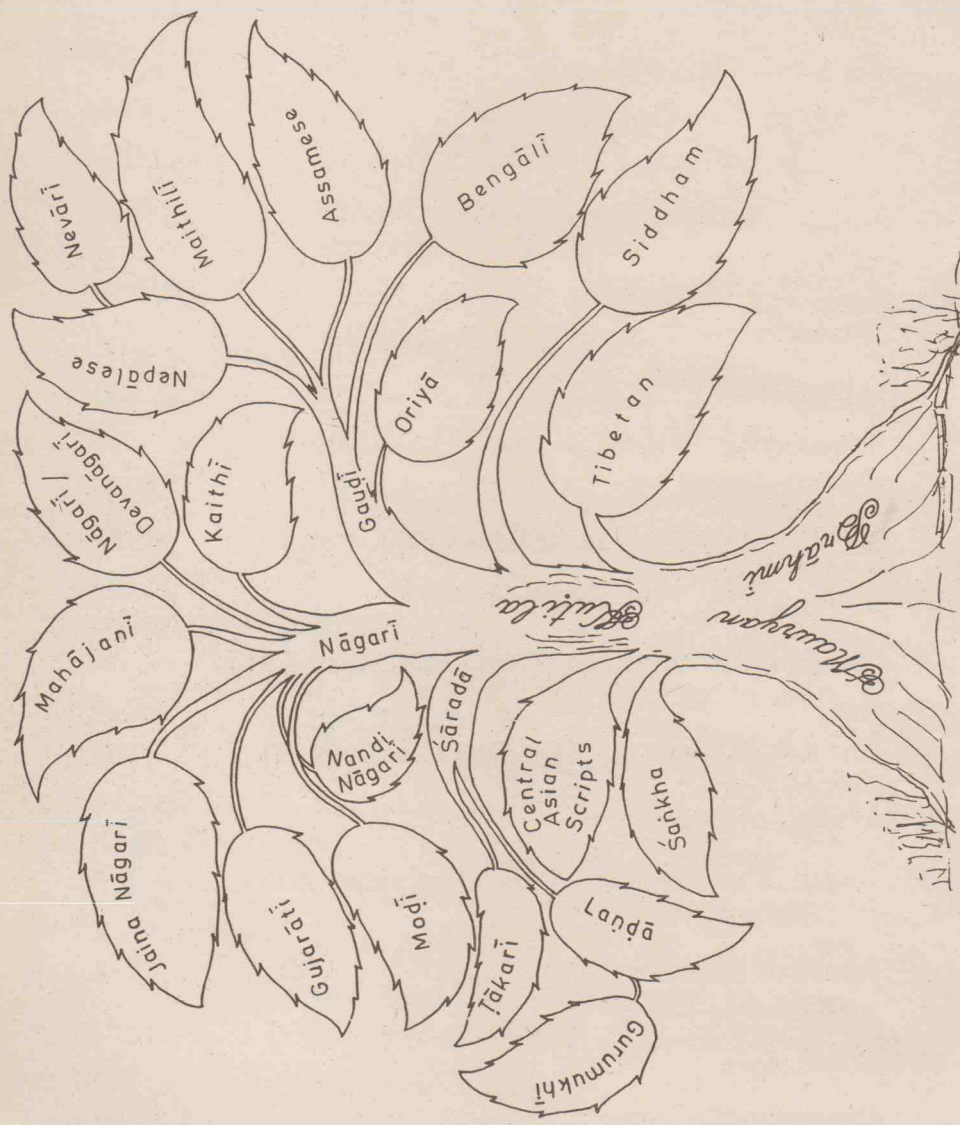
ABORI	Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute
ARSIE	Annual Report in South Indian Epigraphy
ASI, AR	Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report
ASI, ARIE	Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report of Indian Epigraphy
ASIR	Archaeological Survey of India Report
ASWIR, AKK	Archaeological Survey of Western India Report on the Antiquities of Kāthiāwād and Kachh
BORI	Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute
CII	Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum
CMJB	Catalogue of Manuscripts in Jaisalmer Bhandar
CMPB	Catalogue of Manuscripts in Paṭaṇ Bhandar
EI	Epigraphia Indica
IA	Indian Antiquary
IAR	Indian Archaeology: A Review
IC	Indian Culture
ICTWI	Inscriptions from the Cave Temple of Western India, Burgess & Bhagawanlal Indraji, Indian India, 1976
IHQ	Indian Historical Quarterly
JA	Jain Antiquary



JAHRS	Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society
JAS	Journal of the Asiatic Society
JASB	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
JASL	Journal of the Asiatic Society Letter
JBBRAS	Journal of the Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society
JBORS	Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society
JBRS	Journal of Bihar Research Society
JESI	Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India
JIM	Journal of Indian Museum
JMPIP	Journal of the Madhya Pradesh Itihas Parishad
JOHRS	Journal of the Orissa Historical Research Society
JOI	Journal of the Oriental Institute
JPASB	Journal and Proceedings of Asiatic Society of Bengal
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, London
JRASBL	Journal, Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal Letters
JUPHRS	Journal of U.P. Historical Research Society
JUPHS	Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society
KI	Karnataka Inscriptions
MASI	Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India
MS	Monuments of Sāñchī
NPP	Nāgarī Prachārīnī Patrikā, Varanasi (Hindi)
YIAJ	Yādava Inscriptions from Ambe Jogi

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DEVELOPMENT OF THE NORTH INDIAN SCRIPTS



# 1

## Introduction

The Nāgarī script (also known as Devanāgarī) is prevalent in a large part of the Indian sub-continent and employed for writing different regional languages. It has developed ultimately from the script popularly called the Mauryan Brāhmī. During earlier centuries, the various stages of its development can be discerned; however, by which appellation/s these scripts were known among the contemporary peoples is as yet unknown. The historians and palaeographers prefer to call them Śuṅga, Kshatrapa, Kushāṇa, Gupta, or Later-Gupta script, depending on the period and region. While it is certain that those scripts were precursors of the present Nāgarī, it is hard to ascertain whether Nāgarī was the appellation by which it was known between first to eighth centuries A.D. The present work is addressed to investigate into this problem.

### The Appellation Nāgarī

Various etymologies have been suggested for the word Nāgarī. On the basis of the *Lalitavistara* (c. 5th–6th Cent. A.D.), A.C. Burnell<sup>1</sup> is inclined to believe that it was the 'nāga-lipi' (serpent writing). But L.D. Bernett<sup>2</sup> found no connection between the 'nāga-lipi' and the Devanāgarī script. Furthermore, there seems no etymological relation in the formation of the word 'Nāgarī-lipi' from 'nāga-lipi' or vice versa.

One other hypothesis explains it as the writing of the “Shāh” (Kshatrapa) kings of Gujarat, reigning before fourth century A.D. who were called the *nāgas* or snakes.<sup>3</sup> This is only a conjecture without evidential foundation.

A.H. Dani,<sup>4</sup> however, is positive that it was derived from *varṇanāga*, which occurs in the compound *varṇa-nāga-kṛipāṇikā* in the Mahākālēśvara Temple Inscription (of the reign of Paramāra Naravarmā, A.D. 1094–1133).<sup>5</sup> But this derivation also cannot be accepted as the word *varṇa-nāga-kṛipāṇikā* simply means the alphabet written in the shape of a serpent and sword.

N.N. Vasu, after discussing the opinion of various Paṇḍits whom he consulted, concluded that “This alphabet was first devised by a class of men, designated Nāgara, and in a certain place also called Nagara.”<sup>6</sup> This explanation, too, is unacceptable as the Nāgarī script does not seem a corporate invention by a set of persons but it is evidently the ultimate consequence of the progressive evolution of the Mauryan Brāhmī script.

In *Hindī Śabdāsāgara* (A.D. 1968)<sup>7</sup> it is recorded that when the script of Northern India was introduced in Gujarat under the aegis of the Rāshtrakūṭas and was used by the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas, it was given the name Nāgarī. But there seems no historical basis for accepting such an explanation.

Hiranand Sastri<sup>8</sup> on the other hand is of the opinion that it was the alphabet of the Nāgaras or the highly cultured people. But F. Max Müller,<sup>9</sup> W.D. Whitney<sup>10</sup> and David Diringer<sup>11</sup> thought that the reason behind the formulation of the term Nāgarī is unknown. If derived from *nagara* (city) it would simply mean that the art of writing was first practiced in the cities. But this theory also cannot be conceded since no specific city can be named as the seat of origin.

V.S. Agrawala,<sup>12</sup> on his part opines that it was the script connected with *nagara*, which he identifies, on the authority of the play *Pādatāḍitakam* (c. 5th Cent. A.D), with Pāṭaliputra. K.D. Bajpai<sup>13</sup> likewise identifies *nagara*

with Pāṭaliputra. But Anant Chaudhari<sup>14</sup> theorised that the Kuṭila script refined by the Nāgaras (clever Paṇḍits) of Pāṭaliputra *nagara* during 8th–9th centuries, is the cause of the appellation Nāgarī. This refined form of course, was simple and efficient in writing as compared to the Kuṭila letters; hence the persons of that period gave honour to call it by the name Nāgarī (the perfect script of the Nāgaras of *nagara*).

While it may be conceded that Pāṭaliputra was called *nagara*, it does not *ipso facto* follow that the script used in or around that particular city alone was termed Nāgarī.

Śeṣha Kṛiṣṇa, the author of the *Prākṛit Chandrikā* (c. A.D. 1050) has recorded twenty-seven *apabhraṁśas*, two of which are named Nāgara and Upanāgara.<sup>15</sup> According to G.A. Grierson,<sup>16</sup> the close connection of Nāgara *apabhraṁśa* with Sauraseni Prākṛita of Central Gangetic Doab, points to the probable region of its use. This region has been the seat of the Nāgarī script from the beginning uptil now. Finally, T.P. Verma<sup>17</sup> believes in the growth of the regional languages and their employment in written literature. Against this background it is somewhat safer to assume that the script that was used for writing the Nāgara *apabhraṁśa*, possibly came to be known as Nāgarī.

Here it can be recalled that at least three items are associated with the Nāgara or Nāgarī. These are Nāgarī script, Nāgara and Upanāgara *apabhraṁśas* and the Nāgara style of temple architecture. It is noteworthy that the geographical extension of all these three are almost the same, i.e. the whole of northern India excluding Punjab in the West and Bengal in the East. The alternative name for the Nāgara style of temple architecture is Indo-Aryan given by Fergusson.<sup>18</sup> T.P. Verma<sup>19</sup> has discussed the problem in some detail in some other context. Stella Kramrisch believes that the “ternary, Nāgara, Drāviḍa and Vesara is in agreement with three-fold geographical division of India into the North, the Deccan and the South.”<sup>20</sup> If we accept this, the burden of our problem is slightly reduced because when we are not able to determine precisely the meaning of the term Nāgarī we can indicate its geographical limits. We can assume that perhaps



Nāgara or Nāgarī had a definite geographical connotation about which our predecessors had no ambiguity. They used this term by prefixing Deva-, Jaina-, Nandi- for scripts and Nāgara and Upanāgara for *apabhramśas* as well as for a definite style of temple architecture prevalent in a definite area.

### Antiquity of the name Nāgarī

Considering the antiquity of the term 'Nāgarī', we find that the Jaina commentators Maladhāri Hemachandra Sūri (of Harshapurīyā Gachchha, A.D. 1118)<sup>21</sup> and Malayagiri (c. 2nd-3rd quarter of the 12th Cent. A.D.)<sup>22</sup> mention Nāgarī in their commentaries. This indicates that the Nāgarī appellation had become popular by the 12th century A.D. In point of fact, Hemachandra Sūri quotes an ancient verse, possibly of the tenth or the eleventh century A.D.; to the effect, which indicates that the name Nāgarī was known even a few centuries prior to the 12th century A.D.

Al-Beruni, who visited India (c. A.D. 1030) with Mohammed of Gazanā, mentions Nāgara—a script which was used in the Mālava country.<sup>23</sup>

Vasu<sup>24</sup> averred that the first mention of the Nāgarī script is encountered in the Jaina *Nandisūtra* (of Devavāchaka, c. mid. 5th Cent. A.D.). However, there is no mention of Nāgarī script at all in the selfsame work. Strangely, Vasu does not give the exact reference of this work and only quotes 18 lipis from the Jaināchārya Lakshmi-Vallabhagaṇi's *Kalpasūtra-Kalpadruma-Kalikā*, commentorial work of as late as 17th century A.D.

Perhaps the Nāgarī script became famous by the name Devanāgarī in later period. But the date when this appellation came into use is controversial. Rai Bahadur Bishun Śvarup<sup>25</sup> thought it of as early as 1700 B.C., which in course of time lost the name revived lately to indicate that the script was used in upper India, including Banaras, the seat of Sanskrit learning. This is an improbable conjuncture.

However, M.R. Kale tries to define the word in his own way. According to him, "The Aryans who were much fairer in colour than the aborigines of



India are the Devas referred to in the name Devanāgarī (from *Div* to shine, those of a brilliant complexion); and Nāgarī means the Aryan settlements within the precincts of which the sacred language was spoken.”<sup>26</sup> Like that of Bishun Śvarup this suggestion is also widely off the mark.

R. Shamsastry<sup>27</sup> takes back the Devanāgarī script to pre-Aśokan or in *Tantric* (*Atharva-Veda*?) period. But leaving aside the date of the *Tantric* literature referred to by him, the word Devanāgarī does not appear to have been used in any work till late medieval times.

Some European scholars had looked into the problem in their own way. Isaac Taylor writes, “The term Devanāgarī, which would mean the divine or sacred Nāgarī, is not used by the natives of India, and it seems to have been invented by some ingenious Anglo-Indian about the end of the last century.”<sup>28</sup>

Similar is the view of J. Filliozat<sup>29</sup> who holds that the name appears for the first time in the European reports of the seventeenth century. But such views cannot be given much weight and should be discarded as far fetched.

### The Appellation Devanāgarī

The term Devanāgarī has been defined in many different ways. Shamasastri suggests that the Brāhmī itself is derived from *Tantric* symbols, which were called Devanagara – the abode of the gods – and the script derived, therefore, was consequently Devanāgarī.<sup>30</sup> It is, however, difficult to accept this view, because, Nāgarī or Devanāgarī is the evolved form of Brāhmī script and the works which list the scripts of ancient India do not include Nāgarī or Devanāgarī.

As noted above, Max Müller, Whitney and Diringer mention ‘Devanāgarī’ as ‘Nāgarī of the gods or of the Brāhmaṇas.’ According to R.K. Lohia, Devanāgarī means gift of ‘Deva’ (God) to ‘nāgarikas’ (citizens) so that they can communicate and transfer the treasure of knowledge and cultural heritage from generation to generation through the media of writing.<sup>31</sup> George Thomas Kurian, too, defines it as the script of the divine city.<sup>32</sup> These definitions, however, interpret the term from a legendary or metaphorical stand point.

Bajpai<sup>33</sup> is of the view that the Nāgarī script was christened Devanāgarī when Sanskrit, the language of the Vedas, employed it. Chaudhari<sup>34</sup> likewise believes that the name Devanāgarī was derived on the resemblance of Devavāṇī Sanskrit. But this view too rests on slender foundations. It is evident that Sanskrit was being written in Brāhmī and its derivative scripts from the very beginning, hence the question of Nāgarī being associated with Sanskrit is unwarranted. Here we may agree with H.R. Kapadia, that "One will not be completely unjustified to believe that the name Devanāgarī is not so old as Nāgarī."<sup>35</sup>

However in the present state of knowledge, it is not possible to settle the problem finally but it can be indicated that the term Nāgara or Nāgarī denoted some geographical area or region. The term is mentioned in the Silpaśāstras (10–11th century) and the Hoḷal inscription (12th century) as well as in Jain commentaries (referred to above) by Malayagiri and Hemachandra. Here, it must be admitted that the term Nāgarī is not found earlier than the 10th–11th century A.D. It is, however, futile to discuss the appearance of a word in this or that work because such words are recorded in works long after getting currency among the people.

### Earlier Stages

Brāhmī is the earliest known historical script of India. In the present state of our knowledge there is no specimen of Brāhmī which can be definitely assigned before the Mauryan times. The Mauryan Brāhmī was formed by simple geometrical configurations like horizontal and perpendicular lines, angles and triangles, circles and semi-circles, curves and dots, etc. Nāgarī placed alongside Mauryan may seem vastly different in appearance.<sup>36</sup> However, passing through the various developmental stages, some or the other part of every letter of the Mauryan Brāhmī is still retained in the Nāgarī forms with only some ornamental or simplified additions and modifications.

In the natural process Brāhmī developed continuously at least from the time of Aśoka. But there are some remarkable stages of its development



which may be arranged under six groups. The incipient stage is of course the Aśokan Brāhmī, shown in Table A of Text Fig. 1(a-b).<sup>\*</sup> The alphabets of the Kshatrapa and pre-Kushāṇa period represent a distinct phase, shown in Table B in which the vertical is tapering and reduced. The adoption of cursiveness made transitional phase of the Brāhmī of the Kushāṇa period, of which some distinction of eastern and western forms are shown in Table C (a & b). The next stage of development of Brāhmī is noticeable in Gupta period, shown here in Table D (a & b). Under the Aulikaras, Western variety, or Mālava style of writing progressed more distinctly which is illustrated in Table E. In the inscriptions of the Maukharis, Western Indian influence and further development in some letters are seen (Table F); and in the subsequent stage Brāhmī is transformed into the Kuṭila script.

### Developmental Stages of Individual Letter Forms

The development in the forms of the Brāhmī letters was continuous and any talk of developmental stages is to be understood as hypothetical. However, for the sake of facile comprehension of the process of development, I have here grouped these forms into six stages. The detailed and minute description of the palaeographical study of all these developmental stages is out of consideration. For our purpose it will suffice to examine chronologically only the main peculiarities of the alphabets which lead to the evolution of the Kuṭila, or the Nāgarī characters.

#### Vowels

The initial *a* of the Mauryan Brahmi is of various types, of which 'angular' and 'cursive' are two main varieties. Table B shows the growth into a thick top and inner curve in the lower left limb. The vertical stroke in Table C is considerably lengthened. This letter rapidly evolves in the Gupta period (Fig. 3). In an advanced form, the left limb hangs down from the triangular head and ends in a hook open to the left instead of the right curve. In column F (Fig. 1) two arms of the lower curve are

\* All references to Tables in this Chapter refer to Text Figures and not Plates.

shown projected from the left vertical. The Maukharis also employed this form and this is the real source from which the Kuṭīla and the Nāgarī features ultimately evolved.

The long *ā* is formed by adding a horizontal bar, on the top, or in the middle to the right of the vertical stroke of the initial letter *a* in its earliest stage. But, in Kushāṇa period, horizontal bar had been transformed into a leftward curve or hook and placed in the lower end of the vertical. This form continued for a long time and at last a vertical line to the right developed in Nāgarī.

*I* of Tables A, and B are represented by three dots arranged triangularly. In Kushāṇa period dots developed into short lines, two of which are placed one upon the other and the third one is a vertical line to the right of these two. In Gupta period a form is seen in which the vertical line is lengthened beside two dots in place of the other two short lines. However, in general, it is in the form of three dots of which the apex is downwards. Table F shows a distinct phase with lower dot developed into a curved or tailed form. This form is retained in the Kuṭīla script.

Mauryan *u* is formed by two straight lines meeting generally at the right angle. The same form continued for a long time only with the addition of broad head and some changes in the angle. In the early Gupta period a horizontal bar developed into upward curve; while in post-Gupta period the curve is lowered and turned to the left (Fig. 3). The lower portion grows into an elegant curve in Table E and F (Fig. 1).

Triangle is the shape of Mauryan letter *e* with its apex laid at various directions. This shape remained unchanged for a long time; then developed into a flat-topped variety. Tables E and F show further growth in which the top is flat, right portion is in vertical shape and left limb curved in a bulgy manner. From this shape Nāgarī form eventually evolved.

The initial *o* is formed by two horizontal lines joined by a third slanting line at its either end. Table B shows a feature in which vertical is inclined with angularized shape. In Kushāṇa period angles become cursive.



The initial *au* is rarely employed in ancient inscriptions. To trace its development four specimens (Fig. 3) have been taken from the Turfan manuscript of *Kalpanāmaṇḍīṭikā* (early 5th Cent. A.D.),<sup>37</sup> the Bihār Koṭṛā Inscription of Naravarmā (A.D. 417),<sup>38</sup> the Bower manuscript (early 6th Cent. A.D.)<sup>39</sup> and the Mandasor Inscription of Yaśodharmā (A.D. 530).<sup>40</sup> Of these, the first form is formed by adding a horizontal stroke to the right of the Mauryan letter *o*. In the second stage, upper portion become cursive and additional stroke bends downwards. Further, the base of the letter is curved to left as in *u* and another curled stroke goes up from mid-angle. Finally, lower curve further prolongs in an elegant curly shape and the joined curve at the right also extends with a rightward bend.

## Consonants

### Simple Aksharas

#### Gutturals

A simple cross is the form of Mauryan *ka*. The vertical takes a tapering shape and lengthens in pre-Kushāṇa period. In the time of the Kushāṇas, the top vertical develops into a triangle head and the horizontal bar is slightly curved. The head-mark and horizontal curve become more prominent in the post-Kushāṇa period.

The letter *kha* of the Mauryan Brāhmī is shaped like a hook with a circle at the lower right limb. Lower circle develops into a large triangle and hook is shortened in pre-Kushāṇa and Kushāṇa period (Tables B & C). Occasionally, left limb of the Gupta *kha* shows a foot-mark, and the right limb an inner curve (Table D, a-b). In post-Gupta period, inner triangular shape with slanted base is the feature of the letter.

Asokan *ga* is generally an angle with its apex at the top. In Table B, the angle is curved and takes a shape like the horse-shoe. Round-topped *ga* became a standard form in the Kushāṇa Brāhmī in which optionally the left limb shows a foot-mark and right one is extended. From the time of the Guptas, upper portion is almost flat; and foot-mark of the left limb develops into a solid triangular shape (Table F).

The letter *gha* of Table A is represented as a fish-hook with a vertical stroke in the middle of the curve. Further, the curves of the letter are angularized with flattened base and verticals are almost equalised (Tables B & C). In the Gupta period, middle stroke comes closer to the right vertical. From the time of the Aulikaras this letter undergoes a fundamental transformation in which the base of the right half slants, the left one curves, thus forming an acute-angle (Kuṭīla).

The letter *ṇa* is not met separately. In the ligatures, it is in a cursive (Fig. 2, D); or angular (Fig. 2, E) form.

### Palatals

In Mauryan Brāhmī letter *cha* is formed by drawing a semi-circle to the bottom left of a vertical line. From the time of Mathurā-Śaka Kshatrapas the vertical of the letter became gradually short and bears a triangular head-mark. The loop of the letter develops into crescentic shape; which further takes beaked shape in the post-Gupta period.

The Mauryan *chha* is represented by an oval appendage, bisected by a vertical line almost in the middle. Table B shows the fundamental change by which oval shape developed into a double-looped shape, the vertical reduced with thick top. Without any noticeable change this form continued in the Kuṭīla script.

Tables A and B show a form of *ja*, formed by two semi-circles placed one upon the other. However, the vertical form of the letter became common in later periods. Gradually, the lower arm of the letter is slanted from the time of the Kushāṇas; and occasionally, vertical line shows an inner bend from the time of the Guptas.

The letter *jha* is rarely met. In most of the specimens, from the time of Aśoka, the letter is formed by adding an angular hook to the right of a vertical line in such a position that the mouth opens upward.

The letter *ṇa* is also rare, formed by adding a downwards open angular hook to the right in a vertical line. With some minor developments, such



as the prolongation of the vertical line in Mathurā-Śaka Kshatrapas inscriptions, this form continues for a long time.

### Linguals

From the Mauryas to the Kushāṇas, letter *ṭa* is shaped like a semi-circle. Sometimes, in Gupta period, top of the letter developed into a flat horizontal bar. In Maukhari, top end became broader.

The circular form of the letter *ṭha* is retained in all the developmental stages.

The Mauryan *ḍa* is represented as a horizontal line with two vertical lines joining at either end in which the left extends to the down and the right to the up. In later varieties, the top-vertical is shortened and the lower one bends to right (Table B). The form in the Gupta period, with curved back and lengthened leg, shows further progress. In the Aulikara and Maukhari specimens the leg is further prolonged.

*Dha* of the Mauryan Brāhmī is formed as a semi-circle with spiral at the lower and a vertical stroke at the upper end. Basically, the same form continues till now.

The Mauryan *ṇa* is represented as a vertical line with two horizontal strokes at either ends. In pre-Kushāṇa Brāhmī the vertical is reduced. The letter makes revolutionary progress in the Kushāṇa period, of which even an open-mouthed variety is noticed (Fig. 3). From the time of the Guptas, open-mouthed form of the letter became a standard form. Progressively, the outer curve of the letter prolongs in the Maukhari inscriptions.

### Dentals

The letter *ta* of the Mauryan Brāhmī reveals several varieties namely angular, slanted, curved. In the pre-Kushāṇa and Kushāṇa Brāhmī; it is, in general, represented with a head-marked, short vertical line and a horse-shoe like lower portion. From the time of the Guptas, lower right limb is prolonged and the top becomes triangular.

A circle with a dot in its middle is the form of the letter *tha* from the Mauryan times upto the Kushāṇas. Gupta inscriptions exhibit faster evolution in which, progressively, the circle became slightly elliptical with a central dividing line in the place of the dot. The letter undergoes further progress in the Maukhari period (Table F) in which right limb becomes straight and left is formed in a bulging fashion.

The Mauryan *da* is a semi-circle, opening to the left, with its ends prolonged vertically to the top and bottom. The pre-Kushāṇa period is a transitional one from the viewpoint of the development, best understood by the forms of the letter shown in Fig. 3. In post-Gupta period its curve becomes a sort of double-curve (Fig. 1, Tables E & F).

The Mauryan *dha* is represented as a semi-circle with its vertical to the left or sometimes to the right also. But after Aśoka the latter variety gained more currency. In post-Gupta period the lower limb becomes angular.

The letter *na* of the Mauryan Brāhmī is formed by a vertical line with a slightly shorter horizontal line at the bottom. In pre-Kushāṇa, vertical line is reduced with a clear head-mark. This letter undergoes a revolutionary development in Kushāṇa period (Fig. 3). First it bends its base to various degrees and finally develops into a looped form in Kauśāmbī region. In the eastern script of the Gupta period looped form of the letter is more common. In the post-Gupta period, vertical starts with triangular top, slightly inclined to the right and a loop forming to the left bends downwards.

### Labials

A fish-hook drawn to the right is a shape of the Mauryan letter *pa*. In pre-Kushāṇa period verticals are equalized in which usually the left and optionally both verticals are marked with triangular top; and the base is curved with angularized bends. From the time of the Kushāṇas only the left limb bears a head-mark; and in the post-Gupta scripts base of the letter is slightly slanted.



The letter *pha* is represented by adding an inner curl to the hook of *pa* in Mauryan Brāhmī. In Gupta period, the curl of the hook develops into a loop touching the base in the middle. In post-Gupta inscriptions, loop of the letter is compact and the base is sloppy.

The letter *ba* has a square or rectangular shape from Aśoka till Maukharis with slight variations.

The shape of the Mauryan *bha* is formed by adding an additional parallel stroke to the right from the lower stroke of the letter *da*. Tables B and C show two main varieties — in the first form right portion developed into a vertical line and left into curved shape with or without notch; while in the second, lower portion becomes broader. In Gupta period, both limbs of the letter hang from the top-mark in angular shape. The post-Gupta inscriptions reveal quick evolution in the letter form which may be seen in Fig. 3.

A semi-circle placed upon a circle is the form of the letter *ma* in the Mauryan Brāhmī. In pre-Kushāṇa period circle developed into a broad triangle. Kushāṇa inscriptions represent a transitional phase from the view-point of the development (Fig. 3) in which, finally, it takes a shape, termed as tailed variety. The left projecting part is thickened and base is slanted in the Maukhari's inscriptions.

### Semi-Vowels

The Mauryan *ya* has two basic forms: first formed by drawing a vertical line in the middle of a crescent, the second made by a double curve in the place of a single crescent. The crescentic base developed into a flat shape and the central stroke reduced with thickened top in pre-Kushāṇa Brāhmī. The Kushāṇa specimens are also of flat-bottom type; but its left limb shows gradual evolution which may be noticed in Fig. 3. The left half of the letter is curved and right one is slanted in post-Gupta writing.

The Mauryan *ra* is a wavy vertical line. In Kshatrapa and Kushāṇa Brāhmī, it developed into a form which has a thickened top vertical line with its lower tip turned to the left, or occasionally to the right. The top

of the letter became triangular in the Gupta period; and the post-Gupta inscriptions show the development of a triangular foot-mark.

Left facing hook with a horizontal bar is the shape of the Mauryan *la*. The base of the letter flattens in Kushāṇa period. From the viewpoint of the development Kushāṇa period is a transitional one (Fig. 3) showing two distinct forms of the letter, the hooked and the broadened left limb type. The first form of the letter is called eastern and second the western variety. Both forms of the letter are employed in the Gupta Brāhmī. Out of them, the western variety paved the way for the Kuṭīla, or Nāgarī character.

The Mauryan *va* is represented as an upright stroke upon a circle. The circle develops into a triangle, and vertical is reduced which sometimes takes the shape of triangular head-mark in the Kushāṇa period. In post-Gupta inscriptions, head-mark further reduces and base is slightly slanted.

### Sibilants and Ha

The standard shape of the Mauryan palatal *śa* is like an arrow facing upwards with its prolonged middle bar. The angular top of the letter develops into a curve in pre-Kushāṇa period. In the Kushāṇa Brāhmī, evolution is rapid (Fig. 3), finally takes a form in which left limb has a triangular or line foot-mark and a horizontal line in the middle. The top curve of the letter became peculiar with a downward extending right limb in the Gupta period. In post-Gupta period, foot-mark became peculiar like that in letter *ga*.

The cerebral *sha* of the Mauryan Brāhmī is represented as two parallel curves, placed one upon the other. In pre-Kushāṇa period, left vertical is reduced with flattened and angularized base and middle curve developed into a horizontal stroke. The Gupta inscriptions reveal two varieties of this letter; the eastern is formed by a narrow oval with a head-mark at the left and a leftward angle at the right; and the second, the western type is represented as the letter *pa* with fully lengthened mid line. The bottom of the letter in post-Gupta inscriptions has a slight slope.



The Mauryan dental *sa* has an additional hook, pointing downwards, attached to the left in the shape of *pa*. The verticals of the letter are equalized in pre-Kushāṇa period. In the Kushāṇa period, the form of the letter progressed much and finally developed into a looped variety (Fig. 3). This variety is called eastern, while in the western region the older form persists with prominent head-mark. Both forms of the letter are represented in the Gupta inscriptions. The Aulikara inscriptions reveal a stroke in the place of loop at the left limb. Lower loop of the letter develops into a solid-triangular form in the inscriptions of the Maukharis.

The shape of the letter *ha* in the Mauryan Brāhmī is like *pa* with an additional tick on the right. The curves of the letter are angularized in pre-Kushāṇa period. The Kushāṇa period is a transitional one from the viewpoint of the development. The letter developed under two distinct varieties which can best be understood by the illustrations shown in Fig. 3. The first hooked *ha* is called eastern variety. Western inscriptions present a form of angular *ha* with downwards curling right tick. In post-Gupta period, head-mark becomes solid-triangle and right curve further extends.

### *Ligatures (Fig. 2b)*

In all the developmental stages ligatures do not follow the rule of Sanskrit grammar in which the first letter loses its inherent *a* to combine with the second letter. Earlier ligatures are normally formed by placing consonants one upon the other in their natural order. For accommodating them in the limited space, in general, the lower letter is made more shorter and cursive. These factors are responsible for the development of some letter forms, such as bipartite type of subscript *ya*, cursive variety of *ñ*, etc.

### **Development in the medial signs (Fig. 2a)**

In the formation of the medial signs, from the time of Aśoka, *ā* is attached to the right, *e* and *ai* left, *u* and *ū* in the lower portion of the letter. Medial *o* is a combination of the signs for *ā* and *e*. And *au* is not

found in the Aśokan Brāhmī. In later inscriptions it is represented by adding a sign of *e* to the medial *o*.

The medial *ā* is denoted in the Mauryan Brāhmī by a horizontal stroke attached to the right, either at the top or in the middle according to the shape of the letter. In Kushāṇa period it has taken the shape of a slanting stroke. The inscriptions of the Guptas and the Aulikaras generally demonstrate a straight horizontal line with its tip turned downwards. From this shape modern Nāgarī form of the selfsame medial is derived. In the ornate style of post-Gupta period, this sign is represented by a flourished top-stroke.

The Mauryan medial *i* is indicated by adding an angular or cursive form to the right of the top or in the middle of the consonant. Optionally in pre-Kushāṇa; but commonly in Kushāṇa inscriptions, the curve extends up to the left portion of the head-mark. In the Gupta period, curve is further extended with a downward turn reaching below the head-mark. In the ornate style of post-Gupta period it grows into more than one flourished curve.

Long *ī* is denoted by doubling the sign of medial *ī* in Mauryan and pre-Kushāṇa inscriptions. The Kushāṇa counterpart developed into full cursive form. However, Gupta specimens show a distinct feature in which right curve is smaller while left limb extends into a rightwards stroke. In the ornate style, it has taken a shape of two or more flourishes to the right.

In the inscriptions of Maurya and pre-Kushāṇa period medial *u* is marked by a stroke at the bottom of the consonant, either in horizontal or downwards vertical form. From the time of the Kushāṇas curved form of this medial sign developed which subsequently prolonged and shows an almost modern Nāgarī feature adumbrated in post-Gupta inscriptions.

Medial *ū* is formed by adding an additional stroke to the shape of medial *u* in the Mauryan Brāhmī. In pre-Kushāṇa and Kushāṇa inscriptions, left stroke is horizontally slanted to meet with the right vertical stroke. In the Gupta period, it developed either into a leftward curve with a rightward horizontal stroke or **leftward curve** opened downwards. In post-



Gupta inscriptions, it is represented as a leftward extended curve with a small horizontal stroke to right.

In pre-Kushāṇa inscriptions, medial *ṛi* is represented as a slanted stroke to the left at the bottom. From the time of the Guptas it is indicated by a rightward hook to the lower limb of the consonant.

In the Mauryan and pre-Kushāṇa Brāhmī medial *e* is shaped as a horizontal stroke to the left at the top or middle of the letter. In the Kushāṇa period it developed into a slanted top-stroke form. In post-Gupta ornate style, flourishes with embellished thin and thick line are formed.

Two horizontal or one horizontal and other slanted stroke is the shape of medial *ai* in the Mauryan Brāhmī. From the time of the Kushāṇas slanted stroke type of formation on the top become the common form. In post-Gupta ornate style, either both or the right slant are flourished. In latter specimen, generally, left limb is a horizontal stroke with a tick at the tip.

Aśokan medial *o* is a combination of two strokes of medial *ā* and *e*. From the time of the Kshatrapas both strokes developed into slanting form in which one is to the left and other to the right. One, or both of the slants are decorated by thin and thick line in post-Gupta inscriptions.

The medial *au* is not employed in the inscriptions of Aśoka. From the time of the Kshatrapas it has been formed by adding an additional sign of *e* in the form of medial *o* and developed in the same process.

## Features of Nāgarī

The Nāgarī undoubtedly is an evolution of Brāhmī, but a question may arise as to which developmental stage of Brāhmī be ascribed the name Nāgarī. Similarities of the shape may not be an adducible ground for this purpose, because the shape of the Nāgarī *ḍha* is as much similar to Aśokan Brāhmī as the forms of *i*, *ja*, *bha*, of the 13th century A.D. So, it is necessary to define the distinguishing features of Nāgarī which differ

from those of the earlier developmental stages of Brāhmī. A tentative outline may be given as follows:

### *Head-line*

The main characteristic of Nāgarī is the entire breadthed top-stroke or head-line while in earlier developmental stages it was in triangular or short-line form.

### *Straight vertical line*

Nāgarī script shows the use of straight vertical line. But in precursor stages it was in crooked shape.

### *Simplification*

Nāgarī prefers simple forms, while predecessor writings were represented by elaborately twisted and elongated shapes of the letters and medial signs.

### *Uniformity in Medial Sign*

In Nāgarī one sign is used for one medial instead of earlier practice of giving more signs for simple and ornamental styles.

### *Halanta Sign*

The *halanta* sign was represented by making the letter small, or placing a stroke above the letter in earlier inscriptions. However, a stroke below the letter was also used for a *halanta* sign which was later adopted in the Nāgarī.

### *Compendious Consonant in Ligatures*

Nāgarī ligatures are formed by mutilating the first consonant and conjuncting side by side, while in earlier developmental stages usually the complete shape was placed one upon the other.

### **Final Observations**

The factors that were responsible for the development of the Brāhmī

script are more or less the same that were responsible for the development of the Nāgarī script.

Economy of effort plays an important role in the evolution of the Brāhmī. The best example of saving labour can be seen in forming the letter *bha* of the Gupta period (cf., Fig. 1b), where the lower right and the upper vertical of the letter coalesce into a single vertical. The same tendency is responsible for the development of simplified forms which require the triangular head-mark to transform into a simple horizontal line and pave the way for the evolution of Nāgarī line-head-mark.

On the other hand, the desire for ornamentation also affects the course of development.<sup>41</sup> This works in three ways: first, box (cf., *ya* and *va* of Fig. 1b, D) and triangular (cf., Fig. 1, Table C and onwards) type of head-mark developed; second, embellishment in the shape of the letters (cf., *ya* of Kushāṇa period, Fig. 3); third, fondness for flourishes affecting **medials** to develop curly forms (cf., Fig. 2a, E & F). The tendency for ornamentation is also responsible for the development of the Kuṭila script.

Political changes also had a role in the development of the scripts. The formation of the bigger political powers are not favourable for the growth of regional cultures. The larger kingdoms try to adopt a uniform style of writing within their dominions. Consequently the script primarily becomes the subject of the kings, their officers, and royal scribes only; which arrests the independent evolution in farther regions. The uniformity in Aśokan Brāhmī throughout the subcontinent is mainly due to the centralized political power.

Disintegration of a political power — while in many ways disastrous, helps in the development of regional scripts. With the disappearance of an imperial authority small monarchies spring up and regional cultures evolve. Regional cultural centres emerge and the popular regional styles flourish. The popularity of writing demands swiftness, leading to the introduction of an additional quality, i.e., facile writing. Regular writing practices also create certain traits that are responsible for script developments. It required continuous and unobstructed movement of the pen, which in turn becomes



responsible for the substitution of curves in place of angles & c. It is easier to draw a curved form which can be quickly written than to work out an angular form in which the movement of the hand is obstructed at several points. The influence of cursive hand is responsible for the development of several letter forms and medial signs. For example, the increasing popularity of writing in the Kushāṇa period<sup>42</sup> gave a fillip to the fast evolution in the letter forms (cf., Fig. 3) and medial signs (cf., Fig. 2a, Table C).

One of the other consequences of the popularity and intensity of writing was that more and more writers came forward and made their contributions to the development of Brāhmī script. The old 'āchārya writers' must have had a number of disciple-apprentices learning the art of writing. Some of these writers, in their turn, formed their own schools which were responsible for the development of regional varieties.<sup>43</sup> Out of them a distinction is marked in the style of East and West in Northern India from the Kushāṇa period onwards (cf., Fig. 1a-b; Tables C & D, a-b). Hoernle<sup>44</sup> noted sibilant *sha* as the test letter to distinguish between the eastern and western varieties of the so-called Gupta Brāhmī. G. Bühler<sup>45</sup> adds two more letters *la* and *ha* to this list. He observes that, "in the eastern variety the left limb of *la* is turned sharply downwards, the base stroke of *sha* is made round and attached as loop to the slanting central bar, and the base stroke of *ha* is suppressed with its hook attached to the vertical sharply turned to the left. In the western variety these three have the older and fuller form."<sup>46</sup> R.D. Banerji<sup>47</sup> adds a fourth test letter *sa* of which the looped form is of eastern variety. But at the same time the distinctions between the eastern and western varieties are based on a few letters and are overlapped in geographical distribution.

Disintegration of the Mauryan empire encouraged foreign invasions and establishment of new kingdoms. When neighbouring indigenous states came in contact with them, among other things, writing also was affected. For example, we can point to the tendency of approximate equalization of length and breadth of the letters and angularization of the curves in the 1st century A.D. Dani observes: "the angular feature was, no doubt,

dictated by the Greek lettering as well as by the technique of die-cutting.”<sup>48</sup> Verma believes that the most significant and revolutionary change on Brāhmī was introduced by the Śakas of Mathurā.<sup>49</sup>

By nature, the writing activities are more intense and as a consequence more advanced in the centres of power than remoter areas. With the transference of the political and cultural gravity advances in writing travelled from one place to the other. For example, cultural gravitation was centralized earlier in Magadha in the East which after the disintegration of the Mauryan empire, in the post-Śunga period, shifted to Mathurā in the West. Hence, it became more advanced and predominant in the realm of writing in subsequent centuries. With the weakening of the Kushāṇa power and the rise of the Maghas of Kauśāmbī in the last phase of 3rd century A.D., the writing style of that region follows a more developed variety. In the 4th century A.D., the Guptas adopted and encouraged the script of Kauśāmbī region, which was nearer to their original home. But ‘in the beginning of the 6th century A.D. the Maukharis of Mālava ruled over Magadha and Kānyakubja and with them they brought the script of the Mālava region,’<sup>50</sup> which eventually gained full currency.

The actual form of the letter is dependent on the writer’s method of producing the letters on a given surface. Kasiā copper-plate<sup>51</sup> reveals 12 black ink written unengraved and only one engraved line. This makes clear the two stages of copper-plate making, writing and engraving. In several cases, the writing was done by a professional scribe of the court and engraved by someone else. However, sometimes the engravers themselves wrote the text on the surface or engraved the text without previously drawing the letters on them.<sup>52</sup> It is generally held that a writer was a literate man while an engraver was illiterate. Naturally the skilled hand of the professional writer made the script standard and uniform than the illiterate or semi-literate hand of the engraver. Occasionally, the movement of the engraver’s instrument also made some differences in the representation of the forms of the letter. Bühler’s observation is accurate in that “the degree of regularity with which the signs are used, depends not



upon the age of the Śāsanas, but on individual qualities of the writers, their learning and their carefulness.<sup>53</sup>

Writing materials, too, affected the course of development of the Brāhmī script. For earlier period, we find stone and copper-plate as more popular base materials. As a result of several destructive agencies, including both man and nature, we do not possess manuscripts of more early periods. But from the Kurud Plates of Narendra (6th Cent. A.D.),<sup>54</sup> and Tiruvālaṅgāḍu Inscription<sup>55</sup> it has become clear that some of the royal charters were first written on palm-leaf or birch-bark and then were copied to more permanent materials, mainly stone or metal. Obviously, it is easier to write in cursive form on the raw materials while in engraving angular shape of letters with chisel on the stone drawing is easier. Scratching the letters on the stone is difficult, but when it was done straight line was transformed into curved.<sup>56</sup> Verma observes, in connection with the Piprahvā Vase inscription that "the device of scratching on a spherical object tended to make the letters long and slanting."<sup>57</sup> The small space on the coins compelled the writers to form the shape of the letters to suit the available space. As a result, the length of the letters was reduced and the medial signs were simplified on most of the coins.

Writing tools also effect the course of development. The uniform thickness of the body of the letters in the inscriptions of Aśoka is only due to the simplest writing tool, a rod-like object. From the first century A.D., thickness of the lines varied in the different part of the letter. Dani<sup>58</sup> and Verma<sup>59</sup> ascribe this feature to the edged reed pen. Practice with this new pen and skilful twisting subsequently developed several forms of the letters. For example, swift handling of the pen made letters more cursive. Dani<sup>60</sup> reconstructs eight types of head-marks which are the outcome of the different styles of handling the pen. The peculiar twisting of the pen made thin and thick lines in the flourished medial signs and letter forms. And it is the distinctive type of twisting the pen which is mainly responsible for the development of the Kuṭīla script. The writing material in the South, i.e., the stylus and the palm-leaves, was the cause of developing more rounded and wavy characters in numerous South Indian inscriptions.



Dani is right in his observation that the use of the pen in the North was mainly responsible for the new shapes which so fundamentally differed from the southern characters.<sup>61</sup>

The technique of writing also affected the script. In North India, the general practice of the writing differed from the South. Writing on the leaves was done by pen and ink in North India, while in the South, the letters were incised on the leaves with a sharp-pointed needle like instrument and were made black by besmearing ink on the writing.<sup>62</sup> The technique of writing is mainly responsible for the development of more cursive forms in Orissa region. Because of the stylus with which it was written on talipot palm-leaves, it split the leaves if the lines were straight. In the same way the writing technique on copper-plate of the North and the Deccan is different.<sup>63</sup> Presumably, the technique of Deccan is responsible for the evolution of the line form of head-mark and simplified forms of the letters; because it is difficult to incise a solid triangle, or thin and thick line with a sharp stylus.

Geographical factors also have their share in the development of the script. For clarifying this point, we may take the example of Mālava region. The peculiar geographical position of Mālava has inevitably moulded all aspects of her culture complex. Situated on the border land between the North and the Deccan, it was open to influences from both sides. Here the two cultural traits often came in contact with each other and this phenomenon is mirrored in the styles of writing. For example, in considering the palaeography of Eraṇ inscription of Budha Gupta (A.D. 484),<sup>64</sup> Eraṇ inscription of Toramāṇa,<sup>65</sup> Gwālīor inscription of Mihirakula,<sup>66</sup> Rinasthal inscription of Prakāśadharmā,<sup>67</sup> Mandasor inscriptions of Yaśodharmā;<sup>68</sup> we find that out of the cultural contacts the area produced a style of its own writing. Dani has given it the name 'the Malwa or Rajasthani style of writing'.<sup>69</sup> The same style of writing prepared the ground for the growth of Nāgarī script. The influence from Mālava on the one hand reached the northern parts of the country and on the other, it penetrated into the Deccan, by currents and cross currents of political-cum-religious factors.

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 "Māhārashtṛī tathāvantī Śaurasenyardhamlāgadhi  
 Vāhlikī Māgadhi chaiva shadētā (another reading ashtētā) Dakṣiṇātyajāḥ ||  
 Brāchaṇḍo Lālavaidarbhāvupanāgaranāgarau |  
 Vārvarāvantiya-Pāñchāla-Tākka- Mālava-Kaikayāḥ ||  
 Gauḍoḍra-Daiva-Pāñchātya-Pāṇḍya-Kauntala-Saim halah |  
 Kālīnga-Prāchya-Kārṇāṭa-Kāñchya-Drāviḍa-Gaurjarāḥ ||  
 Ābhīro Madhyadeśīyāḥ Sūkshmaḥedavyavasthitāḥ ||  
 Saptaviṁśatyapabhrāṇśa vaiḍālādiprbhedataḥ ||
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 Uḍḍī Javanī Turukkī Kīrī Davidīya ya Sindhavīya ||

*Mālavīnī Nāḍi Nāgarī Lāḍalivī Pārasī ya Bodhavā I*

*Taha Animitū ya livī Chāṇakkī Mūladevī ya II*"

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# EVOLUTION IN LETTERS

	A	B	C		D		E	F
A								
Ā								
I								
U								
E								
O								
KA								
KHA								
GA								
GHA								
NA								
CHA								
CHHA								
JA								
JHA								
NA								
TA								
TJA								
DA								
DHA								

FIG. 1 A



	A	B	C		D		E	F
			<sup>a</sup> <sub>NI</sub>	<sup>b</sup>	<sup>a</sup> <sub>D</sub>	<sup>b</sup>		
NA	I	I	ᳵ	ᳶ	ᳵ	ᳶ	ᳵ	ᳶ
TA	人	人	ᳵ	ᳶ	ᳵ	ᳶ	ᳵ	ᳶ
THA	○	○	<sup>THA</sup>	○	○	○	○	○
DA	ᳵ	ᳶ	<sup>DI</sup>	ᳶ	ᳵ	ᳶ	ᳵ	ᳶ
DNA	D	○	<sup>DHI</sup>	<sup>DHI</sup>	○	○	○	○
NA	⊥	ᳶ	ᳵ	ᳶ	ᳵ	ᳶ	ᳵ	ᳶ
PA	ᳵ	ᳶ	<sup>P</sup>	<sup>P</sup>	ᳵ	ᳶ	ᳵ	ᳶ
PNA	ᳵ	ᳶ			ᳵ	ᳶ	ᳵ	ᳶ
BA	□	<sup>Bo</sup>	□	□	□	□	□	□
BHA	ᳵ	ᳶ	ᳵ	ᳶ	ᳵ	ᳶ	ᳵ	ᳶ
MA	ᳵ	ᳶ	ᳵ	ᳶ	ᳵ	ᳶ	ᳵ	ᳶ
YA	ᳵ	ᳶ	ᳵ	ᳶ	ᳵ	ᳶ	ᳵ	ᳶ
RA	ᳵ	ᳶ	ᳵ	<sup>Ro</sup>	ᳵ	ᳶ	ᳵ	ᳶ
LA	ᳵ	ᳶ	ᳵ	ᳶ	ᳵ	ᳶ	ᳵ	ᳶ
VA	ᳵ	ᳶ	ᳵ	ᳶ	ᳵ	ᳶ	ᳵ	ᳶ
SA	ᳵ	ᳶ	ᳵ	ᳶ	ᳵ	ᳶ	ᳵ	ᳶ
SHA	ᳵ	ᳶ	ᳵ	ᳶ	ᳵ	ᳶ	ᳵ	ᳶ
SA	ᳵ	ᳶ	ᳵ	ᳶ	ᳵ	ᳶ	ᳵ	ᳶ
HA	ᳵ	ᳶ	ᳵ	ᳶ	ᳵ	ᳶ	ᳵ	ᳶ

FIG. 1 B

# A. EVOLUTION IN MEDIAL VOWELS

Ā	𑀀	𑀁	𑀂	𑀃	𑀄	𑀅
I	𑀆	𑀇	𑀈	𑀉	𑀊	𑀋
ī	𑀌	𑀍	𑀎	𑀏	𑀐	𑀑
U	𑀒	𑀓	𑀔	𑀕	𑀖	𑀗
ū	𑀘	𑀙	𑀚	𑀛	𑀜	𑀝
Ri		𑀞	𑀟	𑀠	𑀡	𑀢
E	𑀣	𑀤	𑀥	𑀦	𑀧	𑀨
Az	𑀩	𑀪	𑀫	𑀬	𑀭	𑀮
O	𑀯	𑀰	𑀱	𑀲	𑀳	𑀴
Au		𑀵	𑀶	𑀷	𑀸	𑀹

# B. LIGATURES

A	KYA	KHYA	NYA	PTA	MHA	YA	RTA(TTA)	RPA(PRA)	STA	SYA	SVA
B	KYA	CHHHA	JYA	ISA	DRA	RDHA	RSHA	STHA	SYA	SVA	HMA
C	KKHA	KSHU	TSA	DDHA	MBA	YVA	RVVA	ŚRA	SHKA	SHTHA	SYA
D	KSHA	NKA	CHHHA	NCHA	JMA	NDA	DDHAM	PTA	RYA	STHA	SYA
E	KSHAH	NKA	JHAH	NDA	TYAH	NDRA	MBU	RDHA	ŚVAM	SHTA	SVA
F	KSHA	NJA	TJA	TTRA	TMA	NDRA	PRA	ŚHA	SHVA	STA	SYA

FIG.2  
Fig. 2

# RAPID EVOLUTION IN SOME LETTERS

IN PRE - KUṢHĀṆA PERIOD

DA    𑀓    →    𑀔    →    𑀕    →    𑀖    →    𑀗    →    𑀘

IN KUṢHĀṆA PERIOD

NA    𑀓    →    𑀔    →    𑀕    →    𑀖    →    𑀗    →    𑀘

NA    𑀓    →    𑀔    →    𑀕    →    𑀖    →    𑀗    →    𑀘

MA    𑀓    →    𑀔    →    𑀕    →    𑀖    →    𑀗    →    𑀘

YA    𑀓    →    𑀔    →    𑀕    →    𑀖    →    𑀗    →    𑀘

LA    { 𑀓    →    𑀔    →    𑀕    →    𑀖    →    𑀗    →    𑀘  
       { 𑀓    →    𑀔    →    𑀕    →    𑀖    →    𑀗    →    𑀘

SA    𑀓    →    𑀔    →    𑀕    →    𑀖    →    𑀗    →    𑀘

SA    𑀓    →    𑀔    →    𑀕    →    𑀖    →    𑀗    →    𑀘

HA    { 𑀓    →    𑀔    →    𑀕    →    𑀖    →    𑀗    →    𑀘  
       { 𑀓    →    𑀔    →    𑀕    →    𑀖    →    𑀗    →    𑀘

IN GUPTA PERIOD

A    𑀓    →    𑀔    →    𑀕    →    𑀖    →    𑀗    →    𑀘

U    𑀓    →    𑀔    →    𑀕    →    𑀖

THA    𑀓    →    𑀔    →    𑀕    →    𑀖

IN POST - GUPTA PERIOD

E    𑀓    →    𑀔    →    𑀕    →    𑀖

BHA    𑀓    →    𑀔    →    𑀕    →    𑀖

EVOLUTION OF Au

𑀓 → 𑀔 → 𑀕 → 𑀖

FIG. 3



## 2

### The Background (6th–8th Century A.D.)

Passing through its developmental stages, in North India, Brāhmī grew into a script called by the palaeographers as–Siddhamātrikā,<sup>1</sup> Kuṭīla,<sup>2</sup> acute-angled,<sup>3</sup> etc. The new innovation, by which it differs from Brāhmī, is the inward bending in the right vertical limbs of the letters. The bending of the vertical shows an acute-angle with the base line. Apart from these, in general, the top of the letters are triangular in shape and the medial signs are prolonged with twists and bends. These are mainly due to the pen-technique which can be seen in the forms of the letters (Fig. 4), which become much more decorative in the medial signs (Fig. 5). The distinctive feature of this newly developed Kuṭīla script, according to Bühler<sup>4</sup> as well as Dani<sup>5</sup> are first noticed in the Bodh-Gayā inscription of Mahānāma (A.D. 588–89) and later on became the characteristics of the North Indian scripts. In due course of time all scripts of North India, i.e. Nāgarī, Assamese, Bengālī, Oriyā, etc., have developed from this very script.

The demarcation of geographical boundaries of the Kuṭīla script may be assigned on the basis of its use from Gilgit<sup>6</sup> in the North to Tiwarakhed<sup>7</sup>

# EVOLUTION BY THE PEN TECHNIQUE

A	𑌀	→	𑌁	→	𑌂	→	𑌃	→	𑌄
U	𑌅	→	𑌆	→	𑌇	→	𑌈	→	𑌉
E	𑌊	→	𑌋	→	𑌌	→	𑌍	→	𑌎
KA	𑌏	→	𑌐	→	𑌑	→	𑌒	→	𑌓
KHA	𑌔	→	𑌕	→	𑌖	→	𑌗	→	𑌘
GHA	𑌙	→	𑌚	→	𑌛	→	𑌜	→	𑌝
JA	𑌞	→	𑌟	→	𑌠	→	𑌡	→	𑌢
T <sub>HA</sub>	𑌣	→	𑌤	→	𑌥	→	𑌦	→	𑌧
DA	𑌨	→	𑌩	→	𑌪	→	𑌫	→	𑌬
PA	𑌭	→	𑌮	→	𑌯	→	𑌰	→	𑌱
YA	𑌲	→	𑌳	→	𑌴	→	𑌵	→	𑌶
RA	𑌷	→	𑌸	→	𑌹	→	𑌺	→	𑌻
LA	𑌼	→	𑌽	→	𑌾	→	𑌿	→	𑍀
ŚA	𑍁	→	𑍂	→	𑍃	→	𑍄	→	𑍅
	𑍆	→	𑍇	→	𑍈	→	𑍉	→	𑍊
SA	𑍋	→	𑍌	→	𑍍	→	𑍎	→	𑍏
	𑍐	→	𑍑	→	𑍒	→	𑍓	→	𑍔
HA	𑍕	→	𑍖	→	𑍗	→	𑍘	→	𑍙

FIG. 4

# ORNAMENTATION IN THE MEDIAL SIGNS










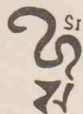



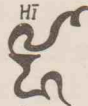





























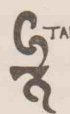






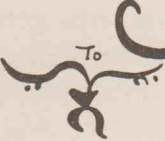
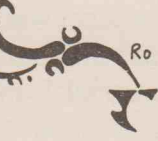






BODH-GAYĀ INS	BANSKHERĀ PL.	D OGARH INS.	KUSUMA INS	KANSWA INS.	TASAI INS.
PĀ 	JĀ 	JĀ 	MĀ 	KĀ 	YĀ 
VĪ 	YĪ 	Ṛ 	Ṛ <sup>SI</sup> 	CHĪ 	TĪ 
NĪ 	HĪ 	SĪ 	JĪ 	LĪ 	ḠĪ 
HU 	BHU 	TU 	KU 	KU 	MU 
BHŪ 	BHŪ 	BHŪ 	PŪ 	MŪ 	BHŪ 
KRI 	ḠRI 	TRĪ 	TRĪ 	DRI 	KRI 
TE 	ME 	KE 	VE 	VE 	TE 
CHAI 	ṬAI 		SAI 	SHAI 	NAI 
VO 	ṢO 	NO 	TO 	RO 	KO 
NAU 	SAU 	MAU 		MAU 	ḠAU 

FIG. 5



(M.P.) in the South and from Nidhānpur<sup>8</sup> (Assam) in the East to Vasantgaḍh<sup>9</sup> (Rajasthan) in the West, during the 7th–8th centuries. About the 8th century A.D. it drove out the early popular scripts prevalent in M.P. and Western India and was often used in the northern and western areas of the Deccan and rarely in the southern Deccan as far as Paṭṭadakal<sup>10</sup> (Bijāpur, Karnatak). Beyond the frontiers of India and Pakistan its use can be noticed in the Kābul inscription of Shāhī Khiṅgāla.<sup>11</sup> It has also been used in the inscriptions of Sri Lanka, Nepal, Tibet, Java, Cambodia, Central Asia, China and Japan.<sup>12</sup>

The main features of this script remained almost the same in this period excepting for ornamentation. The ornamentation differs in different regions according to the materials used for writing. Aside from the influence of writing materials, we also noticed the regional influences on the writing. Not only writing materials or regional traits, but also personal habits and mannerisms of the scribes affected the shapes of letters. In order to understand the development and variations of the Kuṭīla script, it is grouped here under four main heads:

### **The Middle Gaṅgā Valley & North Western Region**

The middle Gaṅgā Valley properly includes the greater portion of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. In the Gupta period, eastern style of writing was prevalent in this region. But under the Maukharis western style of writing came into use. The western style along with Mathurā style and eastern ornamentation underwent a change in this region during 6th–7th centuries A.D. This interaction produced a new style — ornamental style of Kuṭīla script — which was also given a regional appellation ‘Middle Ganges Valley script’.<sup>13</sup> In the beginning of the 7th century A.D., Harsha adopted the ornamental Kuṭīla script and this style of writing spread all over North India along with the expansion of his power. In the north-western region, about the 8th century A.D., a distinct form of Brāhmī was developing which is called Śāradā script.

The script of the Bodh-Gayā inscription of Mahānāma (A.D. 588–89)

is a step further from the writing of Aulikaras (Mandasor) and Maukharis (Bihar & U.P.). In this epigraph (Plates 1–24, Table A<sub>1</sub>) only three initial vowels, *ā*, *u* and *e* are noticed. The right vertical of the initial *ā* is slanted and forms an acute-angled shape. The downward curve of *u* is extended further; and *e* is of flat-topped variety with right-angle.

The letter *ka* is generally in the new form in which left curve developed into a triangular loop and right one into a downward tick. But the old curved form is retained in *ku*, *kṛi* and ligatures. The top of the *kha* is flat and left limb shows a triangular foot-mark. The right vertical line of *ga* has a bend in its middle. The letter *ṭa* is of flat-topped variety in letter *ṭi*. *Ṇa* is of open-mouthed variety with sloped base and extended outer curves. Right limb of *ta* is curved. In *tha* and *dha*, the left curve slopes in a fashion that upper portion became broader and the lower narrower. *Da* is represented by double curve, with its tip turned up. *Na* shows Kuṭīla feature in the right vertical. *Ya* is of the tripartite variety with left arm merged in the loop. Bipartite variety of *ya* with a bend in the right vertical can be seen in the letter *ye* (Plate 16, Table A<sub>1</sub>). Letters *bha*, *ra* and *sa* show triangular foot-mark or loop. The base of the letters *pa*, *pha*, *ma*, *ya*, *la*, *sha* and *sa* is sloped and their bent right vertical makes an acute-angle.

Ligatures follow the earlier style in which the letter pronounced first is written in full form in the same line while the following letter is engraved just below the former. Following the tendency of simplification, in some instances, the first or optionally the second letter is shortened and becomes cursive. Forms of two armed superscribed *ñ*, cursive subscribed *ñā* and reduced form of *ya* and *ra* are noteworthy. In *rya*, superscribed *r* directly joins with the bipartite form of *ya*. The right vertical of the subscript is extended upward to the head-mark. It can be seen in *mpo*, *sya* and *ssa* (Plate 24, Table A<sub>1</sub>). The ornamentation is noticed in the medial signs. In the fifth century, flourishes in the medial signs are clearly seen in the Bilasā<sup>14</sup> and Meharauli inscription.<sup>15</sup> The ornamentation attained maturity in the period of Aulikaras and Maukharis, which is evident from their inscriptions (cf. Fig. 2a, Tables E & F). In the present inscription (of

**HALANTA SIGNS**  
IN 6TH - 8TH CENTURY A.D.

	A <sub>1</sub>	A <sub>3</sub>	A <sub>4</sub>	A <sub>5</sub>	A <sub>6</sub>	A <sub>7</sub>	A <sub>8</sub>	A <sub>9</sub>	A <sub>11</sub>	A <sub>12</sub>	A <sub>15</sub>
T	𑀘	𑀙	𑀚	𑀛	𑀜		𑀝	𑀞	𑀟	𑀠	𑀡
N	𑀢	𑀣			𑀤	𑀥	𑀦				
M	𑀧	𑀨				𑀩					

IN 9TH CENTURY A.D.

	B <sub>1</sub>	B <sub>2</sub>	B <sub>5</sub>	B <sub>6</sub>	B <sub>7</sub>	B <sub>8</sub>	B <sub>9</sub>	B <sub>10</sub>	B <sub>11</sub>	B <sub>12</sub>	B <sub>13</sub>	B <sub>14</sub>	B <sub>15</sub>	B <sub>16</sub>
T	𑀘	𑀙	𑀚	𑀛	𑀜	𑀝	𑀞	𑀟	𑀠	𑀡	𑀢	𑀣	𑀤	𑀥
N	𑀦	𑀧	𑀨					𑀩						
M	𑀪					𑀫	𑀬							

IN 10TH CENTURY A.D.

	C <sub>1</sub>	C <sub>2</sub>	C <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>4</sub>	C <sub>5</sub>	C <sub>7</sub>	C <sub>8</sub>	C <sub>9</sub>	C <sub>10</sub>	C <sub>11</sub>	C <sub>12</sub>	C <sub>13</sub>	C <sub>14</sub>	C <sub>15</sub>	C <sub>16</sub>
T	𑀘		𑀚	𑀛	𑀜	𑀝	𑀞			𑀟	𑀠	𑀡	𑀢	𑀣	𑀤
N	𑀦	𑀧				𑀩	𑀪	𑀫		𑀬	𑀭		𑀮		𑀯
M	𑀪			𑀫	𑀬				𑀭	𑀮			𑀯		

FIG. 6



Mahānāma) the effect of the pen style is marked, not only in the thick and thin lines but also in the long flourishes. Generally, in the formation of medial *ā*, a wedge is added at the headmark to the right. But in *pā*, a curve is added to the top of the letter. A different mode, of slightly bending the right end and extending it upwards beyond the top of the letter to the left, is adopted in the formation of *ṇā*. For medial *u*, the right vertical of the letter extended downward as in *pu*, *mu* and *su* (Plate 10, Table A<sub>1</sub>). Sometimes, a curve is added to the left at the right end of the letter as in *ku*, *gu*, *tu* (Plate 9, Table A<sub>1</sub>). The medial *ū* is formed by adding an additional stroke either to the left or right in medial *u*. The medial *ṛi* is represented by adding a hook to the vertical of the letter. The twisted form of medial *e*, which first appeared in Susuniā Rock inscription of Chandravarmā<sup>16</sup> (4th Century A.D.) now became common. Occasionally, it is also formed by a wedged shape at the left of the head-mark. The top slants of the medials *e*, *ai*, *o* and *au* are flourished, or simple as in *ṇau* (Fig. 5). The *anusvāra* is represented by a dot on the top of the letter, such as in *lyarṇ* (Plate 24, Table A<sub>1</sub>). The *visarga* is formed by placing two dots one upon the other, to the right of the letter, such as shown in *ṇṇāḥ* (Plate 23, Table A<sub>1</sub>).

It becomes clear that the inscription of Mahānāma does not represent the fully developed form of the Kuṭīla letters; and the fact is evident that the Kuṭīla script was in the initial stages of development. During the 7th century A.D. the Kuṭīla features further progressed, clearly understood by the illustrations shown in Plates 1–26, Tables A<sub>2</sub>, A<sub>4</sub> & A<sub>5</sub>. These illustrations have been taken from the Later-Gupta inscriptions (Aphsad; Śāhapur, A.D. 672; & Deo Bamārk) of Magadha region and Bānskherā (A.D. 628) and Madhuban (A.D. 631) copper-plates (both of U.P. region) of Harsha. Of these, Bānskherā Plate is more ornamental and shows artistic calligraphy of the seventh century A.D. The letters of the sign-manual in Bānskherā Plate are so elaborately ornamented and beautifully incised that Bühler remarks, "If king Harsha really used these characters in signing all legal documents, he must have been a most accomplished penman and the cares of government and the conquest of India must have left him a

great deal of leisure.”<sup>17</sup> But it is known from various sources that perhaps Harsha was a good poet too. If so, his appreciation of penmanship might have led him to calligraphic writing.

The lower limb of the right verticals in Apsad inscription are more twisted, on the basis of which Fleet calls it “the Kuṭila variety of the Magadha alphabet of the seventh century A.D.”<sup>18</sup> Banerji<sup>19</sup> noticed eastern influence in it. Apsad inscription was done by Sukshmaśiva, a native of the Gauḍa country.<sup>20</sup> So, it is possible that the eastern influences arrive with the writer. But after all, there seems no remarkable difference from the script of the region.

The feature of development is seen in the bending of the right verticals. In initial vowels, the lower bend of *a* and *u* is prolonged into an artistic curve. A notch is marked at the top line in initial *e* of Bānskherā Plate; and *u* of Madhuban Plate. Initial *i* is formed by two dots above and a curve below. Rare, initial *i* in Bānskherā Plate is formed by a dot in either sides of a wedged and footmarked vertical line.

Among consonants, the evolution is noticeable in the form of *ka*, where vertical line prolongs and right vertical lengthens into a bent vertical. The foot-mark of the letter *ga* is triangular; in the case of rounded-top, the right limb of the letter extends upward. The letter *ja* of Bānskherā Plate shows a developed feature with a head mark on the top, middle bar bent downwards and lower portion going further down and bent to the left. *ṭa* in Later-Gupta inscriptions is merely a curve with horizontally placed wedge at upper end. Banerji<sup>21</sup> asserted to this form as eastern and opines that eastern variety differs very much from that of the head-marked western. But this is unreliable, because curved form is a common variety of the earlier period and also employed during 7th–8th centuries A.D. in Rajasthan and western regions (Cf., Plate 1). Presumably, cursive form was the common variety from which head-mark form of western and double curve form of eastern varieties ultimately evolved.

Among other consonants, right curve of *ṇa* is elongated with curl, upper portion of *tha* shows an inner loop. Later Gupta *da* represents a tail



in the place of lower tick; and right portion of *na* growing into a vertical form. The triangular foot-mark of *bha* becomes peculiar and right limb is extended. *Ya* is of developed bipartite type. The left portion of *va* growing into a round form. With flat or round-topped *śa*, a looped variety of the letter is also found. In Madhuban Plate, solid triangular loop of *sa* shows a process of developing the tail. Occasionally triangular foot-mark of *sa* in Later-Gupta inscriptions is hollow or open its mouth. *Ha* prolongs its right limb in a curly fashion.

Ligatures represent more cursive form of some letters, such as subscript *ñā*, superscript *ṇ* and above all cursive form of *ṇ* (Plate 23, Table A<sub>2</sub>). This form of *ṇ* shows the precursor stage of modern shape. Subscript *va* became triangular to differentiate it from *dha*.

The medial signs are simple as well as of ornamental types. In Bānskherā Plate, generally, top-stroke forms of medial signs occur which are formed by two, or more curved shapes. In the sign-manual, medial *i* contains more than a dozen strokes and medial *ā* has seven. In simple style, curve of medials *i* and *ē* are fully extended and occasionally, turns outwards in Later-Gupta inscriptions.

The development of the Kuṭīla script, in 8th century A.D., shown in Plates 1–24, Table A<sub>3</sub>; is taken from Nālandā Stone inscription of Yaśovarmā of Kannauja. Incidentally, it is difficult to agree with the view of Hirananda Sastri that this inscription “cannot be placed later than the first half of the sixth century A.D.”<sup>22</sup> The inscription shows advanced forms of letters, developed tails and broader head-mark. These palaeographic characteristics demonstrate that it cannot arguably be put before the eighth century A.D.

An evolution is noticeable in the development of tails seen in *a*, *i*, *e*, *ka*, *kha*, *cha*, *da*, *dha*, *ya*, *ra*, *la*, *va*. The top of the letter *tha* grows a peculiar inner loop. *Ma* is yet to develop its left loop, while in western India, from the sixth century A.D., looped form of *ma* was frequently employed.

According to Dani, “The medial vowels have become almost stand-



ardized, with the exception of *ā* and *o*, which still optionally retain the older forms.<sup>23</sup> But, cursive as well as vertical forms of *u*, two varieties of medial *ū*, full extended or short curve types of *i* and *ī* may be observed in the inscription (Table A<sub>3</sub>).

On the whole, this inscription marks an advance towards the evolution of proto-Nāgarī. However, at the same time it prefers ornamentation and alphabets retain the Kuṭila features.

## Eastern India

Bengal, Assam and Orissa together form the region of Eastern India. From the palaeographical viewpoint, the influence of the region reached as far West as Bihar and as far South as Andhra Pradesh. With the expansion of Harsha's political power the script of the Middle Gaṅgā Valley influenced the script of the eastern region; yet it retains its individuality. The style of Bengal does not have the foot-mark and the letters *bha* and *sa* do not have the solid triangular foot-mark. They show directly the open-mouthed triangle at this point.<sup>24</sup> The confusion of using the *va* for *ba* also is the contribution of Bengal.<sup>25</sup> The first appearance of twisting medial sign in this region makes probable that the region was the original seat of ornamentation from where it spread to the other parts and helped in the development of the Kuṭila script.

Purushottampur Plates of Sainyabhīta Mādhavavarmā II (c. A.D. 619–32) and Chaṇḍeśvara Plates of Mānabhīta Dharmarāja (c. A.D. 695–730) are selected and illustrated in Table A<sub>16</sub>. Generally, the alphabet shows cursive features, which may be due to using stylus and imitation of palm-leaf writing.

Initial *ā* shows peculiar eastern features and lower tip of *u* turns downwards. *Gha* of *ghā* points towards Nāgarī shape. *Ṇa* is cursive as well as of open-mounted variety. The upper loop of *tha* in *thā* is detached from the vertical line. *Bha* and *sa* have opened their mouths. The base of *la* develops into a hook and both hooks show inner curl. The base of the letters *pa*, *ma*, *ya* and *sha* are sloped and their right verticals are sharply

bent. In ligatures, subscript is reduced and lower *ṭa* of *ṭṭa* turns its mouth downward. Medial signs are like the other epigraphs of that period.

Nidhānpur grant of Bhāskaravarmā marks the expansion of the Kuṭīla script in Assam region. The right vertical of the letters, such as *pa*, *ma*, *ya*, etc., show the Kuṭīla features; and *bha* starts the process of mouth opening.<sup>26</sup>

### Central India and Rajasthan

The epigraphs pertaining to this section are scattered in a vast area and therefore differences in the writing styles are for certain encountered. The central territory for this vast area was Mālava which, owing to the cultural contacts both from North and South, evolved a new style of writing. Dani calls it "Malwa or Rajasthani style of writing."<sup>27</sup> This style covers the whole area, spread as far as western India and also influenced the script of the Gangetic and eastern regions. Later, in the seventh century A.D., ornamental characters of the Middle Gaṅgā Valley influenced the script of this region. At the same time, the writing style of this region maintained its individuality and produced more advanced letter forms in the last phase of the seventh century A.D., which paved the way for Nāgarī and is now called by the appellation proto-Nāgarī. In proto-Nāgarī, the triangular head-mark becomes broader, or is replaced by a small stroke; and tail, or footmark is developed at the bottom of the letters.

Vasantgaḍh inscription of Varmalāta of A.D. 625 (Table A<sub>6</sub>) and Jhālrapāṭaṇ inscription of Durgagaṇa of A.D. 689 (Table A<sub>7</sub>) are selected for the study of palaeographical development with regional peculiarities. The influence of the Middle Gaṅgā Valley is here clearly marked. However, Vasantgaḍh inscription shows tendency to use some signs with a little ornamentation. Some of the letters such as *a* and *sa* still retain local forms. The initial *a* is of the curved type and *sa* maintains the local variety with the left hook. In the Vasantgaḍh inscription, *e* is of sloppy left limb type; *kha* without a foot-mark and *ṭa* has a flat top. Notched base type of rounded back *dha*, distinct separate sign for *ba*, archaic tripartite form of



*ya*, etc., are also the noteworthy forms. Dani<sup>28</sup> refers to the closed loop in the letter *ma* whereas in the photographic reproduction of the inscription the loop is unclear.<sup>29</sup>

In Jhālrapāṭaṇ *ṭa* developed into triangled-topped variety, *ṇa* took new shape, *ma* has a small loop, *ya* is of bipartite type and *ra* developed a tail at the foot. A variety of the archaic oval *tha* is found in this inscription. The conjunct *ṭṭa* is of peculiar variety in which full form of both letters is separately formed one upon the others, the lower one being smaller (Pl. 25, A<sub>7</sub>).

Most of the medial signs in Jhālrapāṭaṇ inscription are similar to the corresponding signs of the Bānskherā Plate. Optionally, the curve of medials *i* and *ī* extends up to the lower portion of the letter and bends towards left or right (Pls. 5–8, Tables A<sub>6</sub> & A<sub>7</sub>). Sometimes, a kind of hook form is used for medial *ā* in Vasantgaḍh inscription (cf, Pls. 3–4, see *tā*, *mā*, *lā*, *śā*, *sā* and *hā*). Twisted *ā* medial is also noteworthy in *pā* (Pl. 4, A<sub>6</sub>).

The further developments in the alphabet during eighth century A.D. are represented in Tables A<sub>8</sub>, A<sub>9</sub> and A<sub>10</sub>, taken from Tasāi and Khaṇḍelā inscriptions (Rajasthan), Indragaḍh inscription of Naṇṇappa, Saugor and Chhoti Deori inscriptions of Śaṅkaragaṇa I (all in M.P.). Of these, Khaṇḍelā inscription (A.D. 807) belongs to slightly later period in which different limbs of the letters are formed thick and thin in an artistic manner. It seems that originally the inscription was written by brush or some tool like that.

The head-mark of Śaṅkaragaṇa's inscriptions developed into linear form while in other inscriptions it is in a solid triangular form. The alphabet of the Indragaḍh inscription closely resembles that of the Jhālrapāṭaṇ. But letters *ka*, *kha*, *ga*, *ja*, *tha*, *da*, *ya*, *la*, *va*, etc., of the present inscription are of a more developed variety. Initial *u* looks Nāgarī in form. Sometimes, the right curve of the letter *ka* is turned inside and inner curve of letter *kha* becomes rounded. The middle bar of the letter *ja* is prolonged with downwards bent. *ṭa* shows a developed head-mark, *da* has a short tail and *sa* retains left hook.



In the Khaṇḍelā inscription, the development of a tail is discerned in the letters *ka*, *kha*, *gha*, *cha*, *ja*, *da*, *pa*, *ma*, *ya*, *ra*, *va*, *sha* and *sa*. The letter *ḍa* is interesting as it resembles the form of the letter in Jaina-Nāgarī.<sup>30</sup> *Ṇa* is like the Nāgarī *lā*. The shape of the letters *ka*, *ga*, *cha*, *ṭa*, *ḍha*, *da*, *na*, *pa*, *ma*, *ya*, *ra*, *la*, *va* and *sa* (Pls. 1–2, A<sub>8</sub>) show the transitional phase and nearer to their corresponding forms in Nāgarī.

The further developments are noticed in the Śaṅkaragaṇa's inscriptions, in the forms of cursive *ṇa*, developed *ṭa*, open-mouthed *bha* and *sa*, looped *ma* and tailed *ra* (Pls. 1–4, A<sub>10</sub>). However, *gha* is of archaic variety, *ja* retains three horizontal bars, *da* has a tip instead of tail and *na* is of looped variety. *Pa* is open at the top while two verticals of *va* meet with the line headmark at two points (Table A<sub>10</sub>). V.V. Mirashi<sup>31</sup> is accurate in placing, on palaeographical grounds, these inscriptions in the middle of the eighth century A.D.

In ligatures, the forms of *ñcha*, *ñchha*, *pta*, *rya*, *hna*, etc., are noticeable. In the subscript *ṭa* mouth opens downward.

The medial signs of Tables A<sub>8</sub> and A<sub>9</sub> are, in general, ornamented while those of Table A<sub>10</sub> bear simple forms. Table A<sub>10</sub> represents mostly standardized form of medial signs in which *u* is of cursive variety; *e*, *ai*, *o* and *au* are reaching Nāgarī forms. Medial *ā* in *jā* is added to the middle bar of the letter. In *nā* and *hā* it is attached on the top in slanted forms and in ligature *ttā* in hooked shape while usually it is found in a long or short vertical line form.

## Western India and the Deccan

In this group I propose to describe the development of the Kuṭila script of south-western region of Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat and Maharashtra. The Kuṭila script represents marked evolution in this region. The most ancient specimen of proto-Nāgarī is found from Gujarat. However, the earlier inscriptions of the region are engraved in local (cave) characters. A question may arise, as to what led the scribes to use an alphabet different

from that which was current in their own region. Vasu, after referring to the migration of Brāhmaṇas, pointed out: "Some of these immigrants who came from Magadha, Kānyakubja and Gauḍa, brought to their new colony their old alphabet, which in a later period became known as the Nāgarī-lipi."<sup>32</sup>

Most of the earlier proto-Nāgarī specimens of the region reveal the mixture of triangular and line forms of head-mark (cf. Table A<sub>13</sub>). It seems probable that the immigrant Brāhmaṇas of Northern India, who had brought with them their own scripts, tried to engrave the alphabet in the same form. Naturally, it is hard to draw a solid-triangular shape with a stylus, the main writing tool of the region. The writing materials and writing technique of this region played an important role in the emergence of the simple form of the alphabet.

Table A<sub>11</sub> is taken from the Tiwarakhed Plates of Rāshtrakūṭa Nannarāja (A.D. 631) to represent the palaeographical development. The present inscription differs from the Indragadh inscription of Rāshtrakūṭa Nanṇappa in the sense that the Indragadh inscription reveals ornamental characters while Tiwarakhed Plates prefer only the simple forms. Triangled head-mark developed into short line. However, the alphabet retains Kuṭila influence. The right limb of the letters *a*, *ka*, *ga*, *gha*, *ta*, *na*, *pa* and *ya* bends inwards at the middle. The tails are not well marked, only a short tail is seen in the letters *gha*, *da*, *pa* and *va*. The tail of initial *i* is turned towards right. The curve of the letter *ka* is more elongated and sometimes looks like looped *na*. *Kha* in *khe* has an upward going stroke outside the right limb instead of an inward triangle (Pl. 15, A<sub>11</sub>). Such a *kha* is again found in ligature *khyā* of Kalachuri inscriptions (Pl. 27, A<sub>10</sub>). *Na* is of looped variety; and *ma* shows a hollow loop at the left limb. *Bha* and *sa* are of open-mouthed variety. *La* gracefully curls its left hook. The form of *va* is used for both, *ba* and *va*, in which upper portion of the left curve joins with the head-mark instead of the vertical line. In ligature *ṇḍa*, superscribed *ṇ* is of three tooth type. Subscript *tha* is of oval variety. Superscript *s* shows three forms, namely open-mouthed, tailed and hollow triangular. Medials are usual as in other regions.



In the signatures of the Gūrjjara princes on the Kairā Plates (A.D. 629 & 643),<sup>33</sup> Sāṅkheḍā Plate (A.D. 642),<sup>34</sup> Navasārī Plates (A.D. 709),<sup>35</sup> Añjaneñ Plate (A.D. 710),<sup>36</sup> Kāvī Plate (A.D. 736),<sup>37</sup> and Prince of Wales museum Plates (A.D. 736)<sup>38</sup> genuine specimens of northern alphabet are found while the texts are in local characters. Presumably, these are the earlier examples which show the evolution of the line top-mark and tails. Bühler<sup>39</sup> recognized these characters of the sign-manuals as first example of Nāgarī. But they do not seem written in Nāgarī characters as they display the old form of the letters without full covering head-lines and vertical tails. The feature of Kuṭila is present even in the letter *ma* and *ya* of Kāvī Plate.

Table A<sub>13</sub> is taken from Hiḷol Plates of Chandrāditya (A.D. 788). The inscription is written with the aid of stylus and represent hollow-triangular head-mark. Initial *ī* is formed by placing a dot on each side of double curved line. Letters *kha*, *da*, *pa* and *ya* have short tails. A peculiar variety of *tha* may be seen in *thi*, which is formed by two loops. Sometimes, *ka* looks like looped *na* and *na* is of many varieties. Ligatures are the same as before in that period. The noticeable form is the superscribed *b* of ligature *bda* (Pl. 30, A<sub>13</sub>). In ligature *sthā*, subscript *tha* is of Aśokan type. Medials are standardized and have taken Ngarī forms, however, variations can also be seen in the forms of *ā*.

Tables A<sub>12</sub>, A<sub>14</sub> and A<sub>15</sub> are taken from Multāī, Sāmangaḍh and Daultābād Plates (all of 8th Cent. A.D.) of Rāshṭrakūṭa rulers. These copper-plates display only the simplified style. However, there is a noticeable difference between them. Multāī Plates show the influence of Kuṭila writing and only short line form of head-mark. Sāmangaḍh copper-plates illustrate the simplified copper-plate style of Rajasthan.<sup>40</sup> The top-stroke of letters in this inscription covers the entire breadth. Generally, the head-mark of Daultābād Plates is in notched shape.

The lower portion of middle bar of initial *a* in Table A<sub>14</sub> is turned up and *ā* has a slanting stroke from the middle of the vertical line of *a* instead of common lower curved shape. The tail of initial *i* is turned to left, which has a downward bend at the tip in Table A<sub>15</sub>. Initial *ī* is denoted by turning the tail



of *i* to right in Sāmangaḍh Plate. The initial *e* of Multāī Plates is of peculiar variety.

Remarkable evolution in the consonants are seen. The tails are small in Multāī Plates while other two inscriptions reveal a long tail in letters *ka*, *kha*, *cha*, *da*, *dha*, *pa*, *ma*, *ya*, *ra*, *la*, *va*, *sha* and *ha*. The head-mark of *ṭha* is yet to develop. Lower limb of *ḍa* shows a process of leftward bending. *ṇa* of Table A<sub>12</sub> is of open mouthed variety. Other two inscriptions show well developed form of cursive *ṇa*. *Ta* is still of curved variety. *Tha* of Table A<sub>14</sub> shows transitional phase. *Na* of Table A<sub>15</sub> is of vertical variety while in other inscriptions it retains broader looped feature. *Pha* has an inner loop. *Ba* in Multāī plate is denoted by a distinct sign. *Bha* and *sa* have their mouths open. *Ma* has a loop at the left angle. The left curve of *la* is prolonged. *Ha* of Table A<sub>14</sub> shows a developed tail.

Ligatures are formed in the old pattern. Subscript prolongs its right vertical up to the head-mark. Subscribed *chha* of Table A<sub>14</sub> shows a developing form of the letter. Superscript *r* is of developed variety. Both *va* of ligature *vvi*, in Daultābād Plate, are formed by placing one upon the other in the left portion of the vertical line.

The medial signs are of different types. Table A<sub>14</sub> generally shows full perpendicular form of modern *ā* medial except in *ṭā* and *ṇā* where hooked or curved form is still present. A horizontal notch is optionally used for *ā* in Daultābād Plates. Both forms of medials *u*, *ū* and *e* are found.

According to Bühler, "The most ancient document, written throughout in Nāgarī, is the Sāmangarh grant of Rāshṭrakūṭa king Dantidurga of A.D. 754."<sup>41</sup> However, in scrutinizing the palaeography of this inscription, it is found that *ṭha* has no head-mark; *e* and *gha* are without tails. Sometimes, head-mark does not cover the whole letter, such as in *po*. Medial signs are of different types; and in ligature first letter is still formed in full shape. If all these are left out, even then it may not be accepted as the earliest Nāgarī inscriptional record. Moreover Sukthankar<sup>42</sup> has proved it

as a spurious record. One of his arguments in favour of that decision is: "These plates occupy a very isolated position in the progressive development of Nāgarī."<sup>43</sup> He apparently is right, because the other later records such as Tālegāon,<sup>44</sup> Bhāṇḍak,<sup>45</sup> Pimpārī,<sup>46</sup> Dhulīā,<sup>47</sup> Daultābād,<sup>48</sup> Paithan,<sup>49</sup> etc., are all written in proto-Nāgarī.

## General Remarks

On the whole, though the characters of the Western inscriptions show a remarkable progress toward the development of Nāgarī, we are still not in a position to say that Nāgarī script evolved during the eighth century A.D., even in Western India to be precise.

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20. Fleet, *CII*, III, p., 205.
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24. Dani, 130.
25. *Ibid.*
26. Cf. Verma, *Development.*, Tables III–VI, column d.
27. *Indian.*, p., 155.
28. *Indian.*, p., 160.
29. *EI*, IX, Pl. f. p., 190.
30. The Jaina writer of Western India employed a somewhat variant form of Nāgarī, termed as Jaina-Nāgarī.
31. *CII*, IV, pp. 174 & 177.
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33. Cf. *CII*, IV, Pls. X & XI.
34. Cf. *Ibid.*, Pl. XIII.
35. Cf. *Ibid.*, Pl. XIV.
36. Cf. *Ibid.*, Pl. XV.
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46. *Ibid.*, X, Pls. b. pp. 86–87.
47. *Ibid.*, VIII, Pls. b. pp. 186–87.
48. *Ibid.*, IX, Pls. b. pp. 196–97 and to face, p., 198.
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**References for Plates 1 to 30**  
(6th–8th Cent.)

Table	Inscription	Date in A.D.	Reference
A <sub>1</sub>	Bodh-Gayā inscription of Mahānāma	588	IA, XV, Pl. f. p., 358
A <sub>2</sub>	Aphsad inscription of Ādityasenana	—	CII, III, Pl. XXVIII
	Śāhapur inscription of Ādityasena	672	CII, III, Pl. XXIXA
	Deo-Bamārka inscription of Jivitagupta II	—	CII, III, Pl. XXIXB
A <sub>3</sub>	Nālandā inscription of Yaśovarmā	—	EI, XX, Pl. f. p., 43
A <sub>4</sub>	Bānskherā plate of Harsha	628	EI, IV, Pl., f. p., 210
A <sub>5</sub>	Madhuban plate of Harsha	631	EI, VII, Pl. f. p., 158
A <sub>6</sub>	Vasantgaḍh inscription of Varmalāta	—	EI, IX, Pl. f. p., 190
A <sub>7</sub>	Jhālrapāṭaṇ inscription of Durgagaṇa	—	IA, V, Pls. b. pp. 180–81
A <sub>8</sub>	Tasāī inscription	788	EI, XXXVI, Pls. f. pp. 49 & 54
	Khaṇḍelā inscription	807	EI, XXXIV, Pl. f. p., 163

A <sub>9</sub>	Indragaḍḍ inscription of Naṇṇappa	710	<i>EI</i> , XXXII, Pl. f. p., 116
A <sub>10</sub>	Saugor inscription of Śaṅkaragaṇa I	—	<i>CII</i> , IV, Pl. XXIX A
	Chhoṭi Deori inscription of Śaṅkaragaṇa I	—	<i>CII</i> , IV, Pl. XXIX B
A <sub>11</sub>	Tiwarakhed plates of Nannarāja	631	<i>EI</i> , XI, Pl. f. p., 279
A <sub>12</sub>	Multāi plates of Nandaraja	709	<i>IA</i> , XVIII, Pls. b. pp. 234–35.
A <sub>13</sub>	Hiḷol plates of Chandrāditya	—	<i>EI</i> , XXXIV, Pl. f. p., 217.
A <sub>14</sub>	Sāmangaḍḍ plates of Dantidurga	753	<i>IA</i> , XI, Pls. b. pp. 110–11 & 112– 13
A <sub>15</sub>	Daultābād plates of Śaṅkaragaṇa	793	<i>EI</i> , IX, Pls. b. pp. 196–97 & f. p., 198
A <sub>16</sub>	Purushottampur plates of Mādhavavarmā II	—	<i>EI</i> , XXX, Pls. b. pp. 266–67
	Chandeśvara plates of Dharmarāja	—	<i>EI</i> , XXX, Pls. b. pp. 272–73.





[illegible]

Ā																
	A <sub>1</sub>	A <sub>2</sub>	A <sub>3</sub>	A <sub>4</sub>	A <sub>5</sub>	A <sub>6</sub>	A <sub>7</sub>	A <sub>8</sub>	A <sub>9</sub>	A <sub>10</sub>	A <sub>11</sub>	A <sub>12</sub>	A <sub>13</sub>	A <sub>14</sub>	A <sub>15</sub>	A <sub>16</sub>
Vowel	अ	इ	उ			अ	इ	उ	उ		उ	उ		अ	इ	उ
K	क	ख	ग	कै	खै	गै	कै	खै	गै		क	ख	ग	कै	खै	गै
KH		ख		गै	खै		गै	खै								
G		ग					गै	खै	गै			ग	ख	ग	गै	
G <sub>H</sub>		ग					गै	खै	गै			ग	ख	ग	गै	खै
N																
CH	च		च	उ	ख	ग	उ	ख	ग		च	ख		ग	ग	ख
CHH																
J			ख	गै	ख	गै	ख	गै	ख	गै	ख	गै	ख	गै	ख	गै
JH																
N̄																
T		ट				ट		ट	ट	ट		ट		ट		ट
TH																
D		ड														
DH								ड								
N	अ	इ	उ	अ	इ	उ	अ	इ	उ					अ	इ	उ
T	क	ख	ग	कै	खै	गै	कै	खै	गै	क	ख	ग	कै	खै	गै	क



[illegible]



	A <sub>1</sub>	A <sub>2</sub>	A <sub>3</sub>	A <sub>4</sub>	A <sub>5</sub>	A <sub>6</sub>	A <sub>7</sub>	A <sub>8</sub>	A <sub>9</sub>	A <sub>10</sub>	A <sub>11</sub>	A <sub>12</sub>	A <sub>13</sub>	A <sub>14</sub>	A <sub>15</sub>	A <sub>16</sub>
Vowel		ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ		ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ
K	क	ख	ग			च	छ					ज		झ	ञ	
KH		ख	ग	घ		च	छ		ट		ड	ढ	ण	त	थ	द
G		ग	ग					न			न					म
GH																
N																
CH	च	छ	ब	भ	व	रि	रि	रि	रि					वि	श्रि	यि
CHH																
J	ज	झ	झ	झ	झ	झ	झ							हि	हि	
JH																
N̄																
T	त	त						ट	ट				ट			
TH		ठ														
D		ड			ड											
DH																
N	न	नि	नि	नी	ने	नै		नौ		नि	नि	नि		नि	नि	नि
T	ति	ति	ति	ती	ते	तै	तु	तू	तु	ति	ति	ति	ति	ति	ति	ति

I																
	A1	A2	A3	A4	A5	A6	A7	A8	A9	A10	A11	A12	A13	A14	A15	A16
TH			ॐ			ॐ		ॐ	ॐ				ॐ		ॐ	
D	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ		ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ
DM	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ
M	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ
P		ॐ	ॐ	ॐ		ॐ	ॐ			ॐ	ॐ	ॐ		ॐ	ॐ	ॐ
PN																
B						ॐ										
BN	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ		ॐ	ॐ		ॐ			ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ
M	ॐ	ॐ		ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ		ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	
Y	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ						ॐ	ॐ			ॐ	ॐ
R	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ			ॐ		ॐ	ॐ	ॐ
L		ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ		ॐ		ॐ	ॐ	ॐ
V	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ
S	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ		ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ			ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ
SH	ॐ					ॐ	ॐ	ॐ								
S		ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ			ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ
H	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ		ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ





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TH																
D	ੳ		ਈੳ	ੳ		ਈ	ੳ			ਈ	ੳ	ਈ	ਈ	ਈ	ਈ	ਈ
DH	ਹਿ	ਹੀ	ਹ			ਹੀ		ਹੀ					ਹੀ			
N	ਨੀ		ਨੀੳ	ਨੀ	ਨੳ	ਨੀ	ਨੀ	ਨੀ					ਨੀ	ਨੀ	ਨੀ	ਨੀ
P		ਪ						ਪੀ					ਪੀ	ਪੀ	ਪੀ	ਪੀ
PH																
B																
BH		ਬੀ														ਬੀ
M						ਮੀ		ਮੀ							ਮੀ	
Y													ਯੀ			
R	ਰਿ	ਰੀ	ਰੀ			ਰੀ	ਰੀ	ਰੀ	ਰੀ	ਰੀ			ਰੀ	ਰੀ	ਰੀ	ਰੀ
L		ਲੀ	ਲੀ		ਲੀ		ਲੀ		ਲੀ							ਲੀ
V		ਵੀ		ਵੀ	ਵੀ			ਵੀ	ਵੀ				ਵੀ	ਵੀ	ਵੀ	ਵੀ
S	ਸਿ	ਸੀ	ਸੀ		ਸੀ	ਸੀ		ਸੀ	ਸੀ							
SH																
S	ਸ਼ਿ	ਸ਼ੀ		ਸ਼ੀ	ਸ਼ੀ		ਸ਼ੀ	ਸ਼ੀ	ਸ਼ੀ		ਸ਼ੀ	ਸ਼ੀ	ਸ਼ੀ	ਸ਼ੀ	ਸ਼ੀ	ਸ਼ੀ
H			ਹੀ	ਹੀ	ਹੀ								ਹੀ	ਹੀ	ਹੀ	ਹੀ

U																
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VOWEL	उ	उ	उ	उ	उ		उ	उ	उ	उ	उ	उ	उ	उ		उ
K	कु	कु	कु	कु	कु	कु	कु	कु	कु	कु		कु	कु	कु		कु
KH																कु
G	ग	ग		ग		ग	ग	ग	ग			ग	ग	ग	ग	ग
GH						ग										
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CH						च			च							
CHH																
J																
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TH																
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TH	ॐ								ॐ						ॐ	
D		ॐ		ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ			ॐ	ॐ
DH		ॐ	ॐ				ॐ	ॐ		ॐ						ॐ
N	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ			ॐ		ॐ	ॐ	ॐ
P	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ
AN																
B																
BN		ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ						ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ
M	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ			ॐ	ॐ	ॐ
Y	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ			ॐ			ॐ	ॐ			ॐ
R	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ		ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ		ॐ		ॐ	ॐ	ॐ
L												ॐ		ॐ	ॐ	ॐ
V				ॐ	ॐ					ॐ			ॐ			ॐ
Ś	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ					ॐ	ॐ				ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ
SH		ॐ				ॐ	ॐ	ॐ		ॐ	ॐ		ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ
S	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ		ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ			ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ
H	ॐ		ॐ									ॐ			ॐ	ॐ





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TH																
D				३	३								३			३
DH						३		३						३		
H														३	३	
P		३	३	३	३	३	३	३	३		३	३	३	३	३	३
PH																
B						३										
BH	३	३	३	३	३	३	३	३	३		३	३	३	३	३	३
M		३	३				३	३						३	३	
Y			३													
R	३					३			३							
L		३														
V			३													
Ś			३					३								
SH		३														
S	३	३				३		३	३	३		३			३	
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Ṛ																
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Vowel																
K	ṛ	ṝ	ṛ̅	ṛ̆	ṛ̇	ṛ̈	ṛ̉	ṛ̊	ṛ̋	ṛ̌	ṛ̍	ṛ̎	ṛ̏	ṛ̐	ṛ̑	ṛ̒
KH																
G		ṛ̅		ṛ̆	ṛ̇		ṛ̈		ṛ̉					ṛ̐	ṛ̑	
GH			ṛ̅													
Ṇ																
CH																
CHH																
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Ḍ																
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ṭ				ṭ̅	ṭ̆	ṭ̇	ṭ̈		ṭ̉	ṭ̊			ṭ̋	ṭ̌	ṭ̍	ṭ̎



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VOWEL	८	८	८	८	८	८	८	८	८	८	८	८	८	८	८	८
K		क				के	के		के	के	के	के	के	के	के	के
KH		ख	ख								ख	ख				
G		ग				ग	ग		ग	ग						ग
GH		घ														
Ṇ																
CH	च					च					च					
CHH																
Ṭ		ट	ट		ट			ट					ट	ट		
ṬH																
Ṣ						ṣ	ṣ		ṣ	ṣ	ṣ	ṣ	ṣ	ṣ		
ṢH																
D		ड											ड			
DH																
N		न		न	न	न	न				न	न	न	न	न	न
T	त	त	त			त	त	त	त		त	त	त	त	त	त



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TH														८		
D	२	२	२	२	२	२	२	२	२	२		२		२	२	२
DH		२	२	२	२	२	२	२								२
N	२	२	२	२	२	२	२	२	२			२	२	२	२	२
P		२	२				२	२			२	२		२		
PH																
B																
BH		२					२							२	२	२
M	२	२	२	२	२	२		२	२	२	२	२	२	२	२	२
Y	२	२		२	२		२	२	२		२	२	२	२	२	२
R	२	२	२	२	२	२	२	२	२	२	२	२		२	२	२
L	२	२	२			२	२	२	२				२	२	२	२
V	२	२	२				२				२	२	२	२	२	२
S	२	२	२			२	२	२	२	२		२	२			२
SH			२													
S	२	२	२	२	२					२	२	२		२	२	२
H		२	२	२	२		२	२				२				२



	A2															
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Vowel																
K		क				ख		के				कै	खै	के	कै	कै
KH																
G																
GH								घ								
Ṇ																
CH	च							छ	ये					यै	वै	
CHH																
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T																
TH																
D																
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N			इ		इ	इ	इ	इ		इ		इ				इ
T		उ		उ		उ	उ	उ				उ				उ

	A															
	A <sub>1</sub>	A <sub>2</sub>	A <sub>3</sub>	A <sub>4</sub>	A <sub>5</sub>	A <sub>6</sub>	A <sub>7</sub>	A <sub>8</sub>	A <sub>9</sub>	A <sub>10</sub>	A <sub>11</sub>	A <sub>12</sub>	A <sub>13</sub>	A <sub>14</sub>	A <sub>15</sub>	A <sub>16</sub>
T <sub>H</sub>																
D		२	२	२								२				
D <sub>H</sub>																
N	२	२	२							२	२			२	२	
P					२								२	२		
P <sub>H</sub>																
B																
B <sub>H</sub>																२
M		२														
Y				२	२	२	२					२		२	२	
R			२									२		२	२	
L	२					२						२				२
V	२	२	२	२	२	२						२		२	२	
S		२				२	२	२								२
S <sub>H</sub>																२
S		२														२
H								२								



०																
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Vowel																
K	क	ख		कै	के		कै	के	क				का	को	क	का
KH		ख												ख	ख	
G		ग		गै	गे		गै	गे			ग	गै	ग	गा	गा	ग
GH		ग	ग					ग								
Ṇ																
CH														च	च	
CNH																
Ṭ				टै		टै					ट		ट	ट	ट	
ṬH																
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Ṭ̄																ṭ̄
ṬN		ठ														
D		ड														
DN																ḍ̄
N̄			ड			ड	ड									
T	त	त	त	त	त	ता	त	ता	त			ता	ता	त	ता	त





अनु																
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VOWEL																
K												क				ख
KN																
G		ग	घ					ग	घ							ङ
GN																
Ṇ																
CH		च														
CHN																
J		ज				झ										
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T																
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LIGATURES																
	A <sub>1</sub>				A <sub>2</sub>				A <sub>3</sub>				A <sub>4</sub>			
K	<sup>KKRA</sup>	<sup>KTA</sup>	<sup>KYA</sup>	<sup>KSHA</sup>	<sup>KTA</sup>	<sup>KRA</sup>	<sup>KSHA</sup>	<sup>KSHA</sup>	<sup>KTA</sup>	<sup>KTV</sup>	<sup>KRA</sup>	<sup>KSHA</sup>	<sup>KKRA</sup>	<sup>KTA</sup>	<sup>KSHA</sup>	<sup>KSHA</sup>
KH	<sup>KHYA</sup>				<sup>KHYA</sup>				<sup>KHYA</sup>				<sup>KHYA</sup>			
G					<sup>GPR</sup>	<sup>GMA</sup>	<sup>Gya</sup>	<sup>GRA</sup>	<sup>Gya</sup>	<sup>GVA</sup>			<sup>GRA</sup>	<sup>GPR</sup>		
GH					<sup>GHYA</sup>											
N	<sup>NKA</sup>	<sup>NKA</sup>			<sup>NKA</sup>	<sup>NKA</sup>			<sup>NKA</sup>	<sup>NKA</sup>	<sup>NHYA</sup>		<sup>NKRI</sup>	<sup>NKA</sup>		
CH	<sup>CHCHA</sup>	<sup>CHCHA</sup>			<sup>CHCHA</sup>	<sup>CHCHA</sup>			<sup>CHCHA</sup>	<sup>CHCHA</sup>	<sup>CHYA</sup>		<sup>CHCHA</sup>			
CHH																
J	<sup>JKA</sup>	<sup>JKA</sup>	<sup>JYA</sup>		<sup>JKA</sup>	<sup>JHYA</sup>	<sup>JYA</sup>		<sup>JKA</sup>	<sup>JKA</sup>	<sup>JYA</sup>		<sup>JKA</sup>	<sup>JKA</sup>	<sup>JYA</sup>	<sup>JKA</sup>
JH																
N̄					<sup>N̄KA</sup>	<sup>N̄CHA</sup>			<sup>N̄KA</sup>	<sup>N̄KA</sup>	<sup>N̄KA</sup>		<sup>N̄KA</sup>			
T					<sup>TKA</sup>								<sup>TKA</sup>	<sup>TKA</sup>		
T̄H																
P					<sup>PKA</sup>											
PH	<sup>PHYA</sup>															
N̄	<sup>N̄KA</sup>	<sup>N̄KA</sup>	<sup>N̄YA</sup>		<sup>N̄KA</sup>	<sup>N̄YA</sup>			<sup>N̄KA</sup>	<sup>N̄YA</sup>			<sup>N̄KA</sup>	<sup>N̄YA</sup>		
T	<sup>TYA</sup>	<sup>TYA</sup>	<sup>TSA</sup>		<sup>TKHA</sup>	<sup>TTRA</sup>	<sup>TYA</sup>	<sup>TKHA</sup>	<sup>TKHA</sup>	<sup>TTRA</sup>	<sup>TTRA</sup>	<sup>TTRA</sup>	<sup>TTRA</sup>	<sup>TTRA</sup>	<sup>TYA</sup>	<sup>TSA</sup>

LIGATURES																
	A <sub>1</sub>				A <sub>2</sub>				A <sub>3</sub>				A <sub>4</sub>			
TH																
D	DDHA	DDHVA	DBHA	DYA	DGHA	DDHU	DYA	DVAM	DGA	DDHĀ	DMAH	DYA	DDHA	DDHĀ	DRA	DVI
DH	DHYA				DHVA	DHYA			DHYA	DHRA			DHYA			
N	NTYA	NDRA	NDHĀ	NYA	NDA	NOMA	NMAH	NYA	NTVĀ	MDRA	NDHA	NDHĀ	NTA	NDHA	NNA	NDRA
P	PTA	PRA			PTA	PRA			PTA	PJA	PRA		PTA	PRA	PSA	
PH																
B																
BH	BHYA				BHRA				BHYA	BHRA			BHYA			
M	MPA	MPRA	MRA	MVA	MBHA	MYA			MPA	MBHA	MVA	MYA	MVA			
Y									YVA							
R	RRKA	RRMA	RYA	RYVA	RTA	RPPA	RRMA	RSHA	RRKA	RRMA	RYA	RYVA	RTA	RDDHA	RVVA	RSHA
L	LYA				LVA	LVA			LPA	LVA			LYA			
V	VYA				VYA	VRA			VYA				VYA	VRA		
Ś	ŚCHA	ŚYA	ŚRA	ŚVA	ŚCHYĀ	ŚRA	ŚVA		ŚCHA	ŚRA			ŚCHA	ŚRA	ŚVA	
SH	SHYA	SHYA			SHYA	SHYA	SHYA	SHYA	SHYA	SHYA			SHYA	SHYA		
S	STRĀ	STHA	SVĀ	SSA	STRĀ	STHA	SPHA	SYA	STĀ	SYA	SVĀ	SSA	STĀ	STYA	SVĀ	SSA
H					HMA				HMA				HMA	HVA		



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LIGATURES																
	A5				A6				A7				A8			
TN	THY															
D	DDHA	DBHA	DRA	DVI	DRA	DBHA	DVI		DDHA	DYU	DVI		DDA	DDHYA	DVY	
DH	DHYA															
N	NTA	NDA	NPRA	NYA	NDRA	NHA	NYE	NPA	NTA	NDRA	NHA	NMA	NNTA	NDA	NNAH	
P	PTA	PYA	PRA		PTA	PYA	PRA		PTA	PPA	PYA	PRA	PTA	PYA	PRA	
PN																
B					BA				BBAD	BRA						
BN	BHYA	BHRA							BBA				BHRA			
M	MPI	MVA			MVA				MBHO	MVA			MHA	MBA	MVA	MA
Y																
R	RTA	RYA	RYA	RSHA	RTYA	RRA	RMMA	RVVA	RGAR	RCHHA	RTTA	RDDA	RGAHA	RMA	RA	
L	LYA				LVA				LPA	LYA			LPA	LLA		
V	VYA	VRA			VYA				VYA	VRA			VMA			
S	SCHA	SRA	SVA		SCHA	SRA	SVA	SSA	SCHA	SVA	SVA	SCHA	SVA	SVA	SRA	
SH	SHTA	SHTNA	SHTU		SHTNA	SHTMYA	SHTVA		SHTA	SHTYA			SHTNA	SHTVA		
S	SKA	STA	STNA	SYA	STA	STNA	SYA	SSA	SKHA	STA	SMA	SVA	SMA	SYA	SVA	SSVA
H	HMA	HVRA			HMA	HMA			HMA	HVAH						

LIGATURES																
	A <sub>9</sub>				A <sub>10</sub>				A <sub>11</sub>				A <sub>12</sub>			
K	<sup>KTA</sup>	<sup>KRA</sup>	<sup>KSH</sup>	<sup>KSHYA</sup>	<sup>KSHI</sup>				<sup>KTI</sup>	<sup>KSHI</sup>			<sup>KTAM</sup>	<sup>KSHA</sup>		
KH	<sup>KHYA</sup>				<sup>KHYA</sup>											
G	<sup>GDHA</sup>	<sup>GVA</sup>	<sup>GRA</sup>	<sup>GVA</sup>					<sup>GRA</sup>				<sup>GDHA</sup>	<sup>GRA</sup>		
GH																
Ṇ	<sup>NKA</sup>	<sup>NKHA</sup>	<sup>NGA</sup>		<sup>NKA</sup>								<sup>NKA</sup>	<sup>NKHA</sup>		
CH	<sup>CHCHA</sup>	<sup>CHCHA</sup>							<sup>CHCHA</sup>				<sup>CHCHA</sup>	<sup>CHCHA</sup>		
CMH																
J	<sup>JTA</sup>	<sup>JTA</sup>	<sup>JYA</sup>	<sup>JYA</sup>	<sup>JTA</sup>	<sup>JYA</sup>							<sup>JTA</sup>			
JH																
Ṇ	<sup>NCHA</sup>								<sup>NCHA</sup>	<sup>NJA</sup>			<sup>NCHA</sup>			
T	<sup>TJA</sup>				<sup>TJA</sup>				<sup>TJA</sup>				<sup>TCHA</sup>	<sup>TJA</sup>		
TH																
D																
DH																
N	<sup>NYA</sup>	<sup>NDA</sup>			<sup>NYA</sup>				<sup>NDA</sup>	<sup>NYA</sup>			<sup>NYA</sup>			
T	<sup>TJA</sup>	<sup>TMA</sup>	<sup>TJA</sup>	<sup>TVA</sup>	<sup>TJA</sup>				<sup>TJA</sup>	<sup>TMA</sup>			<sup>TJA</sup>	<sup>TMA</sup>	<sup>TJA</sup>	



LIGATURES																
	A <sub>9</sub>				A <sub>10</sub>				A <sub>11</sub>				A <sub>12</sub>			
TH	THYA															
D	DBHA	DYAH	DRA		DBHA				DHĀ	DYA	DVĀ		DDĀ	DDHA	DYA	DVA
DH	DHYA															
N	NTA	NDRA	NNA	NPRA	NTA	NMA			NDA	NNA	NVA		NDA	NNA	NYE	NVA
P	PTA	PPAH	PYA	PPAH					PTA	PRA			PTA	PPA	PRA	
PH																
B																
BH	BHYA	BHRA							BHYA							
M	MPA	MBHĀ	MVA						MVE				MVE			
Y																
R	RTA	RMA	RMMA	RSHA	RDHA	RA	RVA		RTA	RMA	RVA		RTA	RMA	RVA	RSHA
L													LPA			
V	VDA	VYAH							VYA	VRA			VYA	VRA		
S	SCHA	SVA	SEA		SRĪ	SVA			SVA				SCHA	SRA		
SH	SHTRA	SHTRA	SHPA	SHYA	SHNĀ				SHTRA	SHTRA			SHTRA	SHTRA		
S	STA	SMYA	SYA	SVA	SMA	SYĒ			STYA	SYĀ	SVA		STA	SYA	SVA	SSA
H	HNA								HNA				HNA	HVA	HVA	



[illegible]

LIGATURES																
	A13				A14				A15				A16			
TH																
D	DGu	DDHA	DRA		DDHA	DSHā	DRA	DVAM	DDHā	DBHI	DYA	DRā	DDHA	DPA	DBHA	DVA
DH	ḍḥ				DHVA				DHVA				DHYā			
N	NH				NTA	NTNA	NYā	NVA	NTVA	NDRA	NDHA	NSA	NTA	NDRA	NDHA	NYō
P	PTA	PYē	PLA		PTA	PPA	PYU	PRA	PYA	PRA			PTYā	PTā	PRA	PLU
PH																
B	BPA															
BH									BHYA	BHRA						
M	MMA	MYām			MYā								MPI	MBHA	MVA	
Y																
R	RGH	KDDHA	RMMA	KSHA	RGH	KHA	KVA	KSHA	RA	KHA	RHNA	KSHA	RA	RMMA	KDDHA	RSH
L	LLA				LPHA	LLA	LVA	LKā	LLA				LYA			
V	VHVā				VYA				VV	VYA	VRA		VYA	VRA		
ś	SCHA	SYA	SVA	SRA	SCHA	SYA	SRA	SVA	SCHA	SRA	SVA		SCHA	SMA	SRA	SVA
SH	SHTA	SHTNA			SHTYā	SHTA	SHTNA	SHVA	SHKA	SHTA	SHNA	SHVA	SHTA	SHTNA	SHYā	SHVA
S	STA	STNā	SVA	SVA	SKA	STA	SVA	SVA	STRA	SMA	SVA	SVA	STRA	SPHU	SMA	SVA
H	HNE	HMA			HMA	HVA			HMA				HMA	HLA		



# 3

## The Period of Transition (9th–10th Century A.D.)

The sign-manual of Gūrjjara princes and the alphabet of Multāī Plates represent the early transitional phase of the Kuṭiḷa script, which moves fast in this period. This is the period in which Kuṭiḷa script completed its path of evolution and the characters of the subsequent period show a mature form of Nāgarī. The general course of the development of Nāgarī out of Kuṭiḷa letters is clear enough, but the ascertainment of the actual period of transition is still puzzling. Palaeographers and historians have given suggestions about the fact, however, they are not unanimous on this point. For example, Om Prakash Bhatiya 'Araj'<sup>1</sup> accepts the actual period of transition in A.D. 1000, while Sukthankar<sup>2</sup> in the mid of the 9th, Bühler<sup>3</sup> in the 7th and Vasu<sup>4</sup> in the 5th century A.D. So, in these conditions of uncertainty it is necessary to make a thorough and minute palaeographical observation of the inscriptions of different regions and dynasties.

The Pālas of Bengal, Pratīhāras of Northern India and the Rāshtrakūṭas of Gujarat and Maharashtra dominated the history of India during this period. Their writing differs somewhat from each other. In order to understand the development with differences, the script of the transitional period may be divided into three groups: Eastern, Northern and Western.



## Eastern India

The regional style of writing in Eastern India maintained its originality at least up to the 8th century A.D. Subsequently, the trend was modified under the extraneous influences during the rule of the Pālas of Bengal and Bihar. With these changes, the proto-Nāgarī script of Western India for a long time obscured the evolution of the Gaudī script. However, some letters still retain their distinguishing features which are elaborated in the succeeding paragraphs.

### A<sub>1</sub>. Inscriptions of Pālas

Table B<sub>1</sub> is taken from Nālandā and Mungir Plates of Devapāladeva (c. A.D. 810–50) and Table B<sub>2</sub> from the Gayā and Badāl inscriptions of Nārāyaṇapāla (A.D. 854–908). The lower end of letters turned less to the right in Mungir and Gayā epigraphs than Nālandā and Badāl. The alphabet of Badāl pillar inscription, which is in the East is more archaic than that of the Gayā inscription in the West.

Among initial vowels, the vertical line of *a* has a foot-mark with upwards (but optionally downwards also) extended lower left curve and slanted middle bar in Nālandā inscription while in Table B<sub>2</sub> middle bar becomes parallel. Initial *ā* has now a vertical line to the right of the letter to mark long *ā*. A different type of *ā* is found in Badāl inscription, which is the peculiarity of the region. Initial *i* shows a developing feature, formed by a short horizontal line at the top and two circles or dots below. Sometimes, a short vertical line is also attached to the horizontal line and lower two circles are formed on both sides of this vertical line (Table B<sub>1</sub>). *E* has developed a tail (Pl. 45, B<sub>1</sub> & B<sub>2</sub>). The rare initial *o* is of peculiar variety (Pl. 49, B<sub>1</sub>) and *au* is formed by adding an upward curve to the right middle of initial *o* (Pl. 51, B<sub>1</sub>).

Among consonants, right curve of the letter *ka* is prolonged. *Kha* is of two varieties—one with an inner triangular loop and the other is of eastern variety with an outer triangle and open mouth. *Gha* is on its way of development in which upper part comes closer and left curve raised above the level of the right one. *Cha* retains its beaked shape. The lowest

arm of *ja* is further extended towards left. *Ṭa* is of two varieties in which eastern one prolongs its right hand tick downwards and left portion contains a semicircle with a slanting stroke by which it is attached to the left end of the top stroke. *Ṭha* is still of a plain circle type. The back of *ḍa* is curved and leg is bent. *Ṇa* is cursive as well as of open-mouthed variety. *Ta* is of curved type. *Tha* develops an outer loop at the upper portion in Table B<sub>2</sub>. The breadth of *pa* is shortened. *Pha* shows a peculiar variety with its outwards turned loop. *Bha* and *sa* have opened their triangular foot-mark. With regular forms a peculiar variety of *śa* is found with its top curled and joined by a bar to the right vertical (Pl. 32, B<sub>2</sub>). Perhaps this is the peculiarity of the region from which Bengālī form was derived later on. *Ha* has a developed tail in its left portion.

The ligatures *ksha*, *dya*, *nda*, *śrī* of Table B<sub>2</sub> are nearer to their Nāgarī forms. Subscript *ṇa* is of cursive variety while in superscript it is formed in full shape. Superscript *r* retains its triangular head-mark.

A vertical line to the right of the letter is the form of medial *ā*, except in the case of *ṭā* of Table B<sub>1</sub> which retains its older feature. The medials *i* and *ī* are extended up to the bottom of the letter. The medial *u* is of cursive as well as wedged vertical type. In the case of *ru* it is a downward hook from the middle of the letter. A leftward hook is added at the bottom of the letter for medial *ū*. The older style of putting the left vertical stroke still continues in the case of medials *e*, *ai*, *o* and *au*; but in a majority of cases new style of leftward slanting stroke is marked (Tables B<sub>1</sub> & B<sub>2</sub>). Old form of *halanta* sign is retained in these inscriptions (Fig. 6). Optionally, the triangular form of top-stroke is found.

## A<sub>II</sub>. Inscriptions of Assam

Table B<sub>4</sub> is taken from Parbatīyā plates of Vanamālavarmadeva (A.D. 835–65). The head-mark is represented as a broad solid-triangle. Initial *a* and *u* show the regional influence. *I* is of archaic variety with its lower curve leftwards. *E* represents peculiar variety in which upper left portion is rounded and lower portion attached with the right vertical at its middle.



Among consonants, the left limb of *kha*, *ga* and *śa* bends inward at the middle and lower tip become cursive or rounded. *Gha* is of tailed variety. *Cha* retains its beaked shape. *Ṭa* is eastern double curved variety and *ṭha* is marked by a plain circle. *Ṇa* shows in both forms—cursive and open-mouthed. *Tha* represents archaic inner looped variety. In *pa*, the breadth of the letter is decreased. *Pha* has an outer loop at its upper instead of Pāla's side portion. *Bha* and *sa* have opened their mouths. *Ra* shows a developed tail. Left curl of *la* extends farther inwards. *Śa* takes the form of two circles one over the other at the left of the vertical in which the upper one is hollow. The tail of *ha* is attached with the right hook.

**Ligatures** are as usual. Superscript *ñ* is of cursive as well as of open-mouthed variety. Superscribed *l* takes its place to the left of the subscript like modern Nāgarī. The middle bar of the subscript *ja* of *raj* is prolonged and is on its way of developing into a vertical shape.

With the common vertical form of medial *ā*, the old curved form is also seen in *jā*, *ṭā* and *ṭhā*. Both forms of *u* are present. Medial *e* is unique, formed by extending the left end of the head-mark into a curve forming almost a loop at the end.

Further development is marked by the Nowgong Plates of Balavarmā (A.D. 885–910), shown in Table C<sub>1</sub>. In the formation of letters cursive hand is adopted. The head-mark is represented by broad triangle, which optionally developed into a line form and cover the entire breadth of the letter. Lower curve of initial *i* is turned to right. *Au* is formed by adding an upward curve, turning to the left, in the middle of the initial *o*. The lower left limb of *kha* and *ga* develop in the direction of the Parbatiyā Plates (Table B<sub>4</sub>). *Cha* is still of beaked variety; and middle bar of *ja* is yet to develop into straight vertical. *Ṭa* is of eastern type with two curves and a stroke at the right. *Ṭha* has no head-mark; and *ṇa* is of archaic open-mouthed variety. *Na* shows developed feature in which right portion became straight vertical and left loop meets with the vertical in the middle as in modern Nāgarī. Letters like *pa*, *ya*, *la*, *va* too developed into



Nāgarī forms. Sometimes, the upper portion of the letter *śa* shows an outer loop (Pl. 62, C<sub>1</sub>), which is the real base of Nāgarī form.

Among ligatures superscript *ñ* is noteworthy and shows the local form. The upper curve of subscript *ṭa* is extended. Medial signs are usual as in Parbatiyā Plates. Along with the new form of *halanta* sign old one is also employed (Fig. 6).

### A<sub>III</sub>. Inscriptions of Orissa

Table B<sub>5</sub> is taken from Peṭṭasar Grant of Netabhañja (A.D. 885) and Narasiṅpur Plate of Devānandadeva . The alphabet of this region shows a more cursive form and solid triangle of the left limb of *kha*, *ga* and *śa* have their mouths open. Presumably, it is due to the writing technique of the region in which while writing with a stylus of solid triangular shape, it is not easy to draw.

The lower curve of initial *a* is bent downwards and middle bar is slanted. The lower curve of initial *i* turns downwards. *U* is of Nāgarī type and *e* has a rounded top. The right curve of the letter *ka* is further extended with a rightwards bend. *Kha* has opened its mouth as in eastern style. *Chha* is on its way of development. The middle arm of *ja* is developing into straight vertical form. *Ṇa* shows developed cursive variety. *Pha* has an outer loop on the right limb like Assam inscriptions. *Bha* and *sa* are of open-mouthed variety. *Śa* retains its eastern style. Lower limb of the vertical lines are bent to the right. These inscriptions represent short line head-mark which do not cover the entire breadth of the letters.

Among ligatures *ṭṭa* is interesting in which both *ṭa* are placed separately side by side with the left one slightly at upper level. In *ṇṭa* and *shṭim*, the subscript *ṭa* opens mouth downwards in eastern style. The middle bar of the superscript *sh* starts from the head-mark in a curly shape to meet with the right vertical in the middle. Medial signs do not maintain uniformity throughout the inscriptions as they are a mixture of older and newer forms.

The further developments are shown in Tables C<sub>2</sub> and C<sub>3</sub>, respectively derived from the Bālangir Museum Plates of Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti and

Chicācole Plates of Madhu-Kāvārṇadeva (A.D. 923). Chicācole Plates belong to Andhra; however, its alphabet shows the influence of Orissa. The lower left limb of the letters *kha*, *ga* and *śa* represents open-triangular mark like the earlier style of the region. Initial *e* of Table C<sub>3</sub> opens its mouth to left, which later on became the common characteristics of the eastern script. *ṭa* and *śa* followed the style of eastern region. The lower extremity of *ḍa* is turned to left. *ṇa* extends its right limb upwards. The upper outer loop of *tha* is still in the form of a hook. The upper right loop of *pha* is developing into a hooked shape, which was later on accepted in the eastern style. *Ha* has a developed tail in its left portion. The top-strokes still do not cover regularly the entire breadth of the whole letter. Ligature *kshe* of Table C<sub>2</sub> shows the transitional form. Superscribed *ñ* in Table C<sub>3</sub> has a dot or circle at the right tip of the upper horizontal line. This may be regarded as the precursor of modern Nāgarī *na* with a dot at the right side of the letter. It is also to be found in the inscriptions of Nārāyaṇapāla of Bihar (Pl. 53, B<sub>2</sub>). Ñ is of eastern variety. Among medial signs noticeable form is *e* which is generally formed by adding a line in the left portion of the letter as it is found in eastern scripts.

### General Remarks

The observations attested that the inscriptions of Eastern India do not show regular full covering head-mark. The alphabet is progressing towards local scripts, however, the influence of proto-Nāgarī is still retained in many forms; Nālandā and Mungir inscriptions are marked by proto-Nāgarī than any other influence. The Bengālī, Assamese and Oriyā scripts are still in the process of evolution during this period.

### North India

In North India Pratīhāras established an extensive empire. Two important cultural territories —Kānyakubja and Mālava—were under them. As a consequence, the writing style of the region was much developed and influenced the scripts of eastern India and penetrated into the western regions.



### B<sub>1</sub>. Inscriptions of Pratihāras

For the purpose of showing the development of alphabets during 9th Cent. A.D., the Barāh copper plate (Kanpur, U.P.) and Sāgar-Tāl inscription (Gwalior, M.P.) of Bhojadeva; Dighwā-Dubaulī plate (Saran, Bihar) and Pehevā inscription (Karnal, E. Punjab) of Mahendrapāla were selected and illustrated in Tables B<sub>6</sub>, B<sub>10</sub>, B<sub>3</sub> and B<sub>8</sub>. On the basis of the narrow *cha*, cursive *ja*, later *ṭa*, proto-Bengālī *tha*, looped *ma*, transitional *śa*, late *sha*; and exceptional forms of *a*, *kha*, *gha*, *ta*, *ṇa* and *nā* Banerji<sup>5</sup> admits that Dighwā-Dubaulī grant shows the use of an alphabet which is a mixture of eastern and western varieties. However, the mentioned peculiarities are also met with in the corresponding letter forms of Barāh Plate. So, these peculiarities may not be due to the mixture of eastern and western but was the common simplified style of copper plate writing of that period.

Of these inscriptions, Sāgar-Tāl is similar to the Pehevā. Both are engraved on stone and still have a touch of flourish, Kuṭila forms and triangular head-mark. Barāh plate resembles the Dighwā-Dubaulī plate. Both are Copper-plates and show only simple forms of letters and line forms of head-mark.

Table B<sub>10</sub> (Sāgar-Tāl) shows a peculiar type of initial *a* in which right portion is a wedged vertical line and left has an outward curve with triangular head-mark and slanting bar in the lower portion attached to the vertical line. *Ā* of Table B<sub>6</sub> (Barāh Plate). represents an archaic form with a curve at the bottom while a developed vertical form added to the right of *a* in Table B<sub>3</sub> (Dighwā-Dubaulī) and B<sub>8</sub> (Pehevā). Initial *i* is of archaic variety with leftward lower curve, however, in Pehevā epigraph lower curve turns downwards and a slanted bar is added to the lower limb of the curve. Except in Sāgar-Tāl, initial vowel *e* shows the developed variety with tail.

The Sāgar-Tāl inscription invariably bears Kuṭila forms of letters in which only some letters have a short tail while most of the letters of other inscriptions show developed form of the long tail. The right curve of the letter *ka* is prolonged. The left limb of the letter *kha* in *khi* (Pl. 35, B<sub>3</sub>)



shows a developed tail, which looks Nāgarī in form. Letter *gha* of this region retains archaic tripartite feature; and except Pehevā inscription, *ṇa* is generally of open-mouthed variety. *Ta* shows two forms: one with the two arms rounded and the other with the left arm forming an angular hook and finally joining with the right vertical. *Tha* has an outer loop. *Na* is of modern vertical as well as of archaic curved form. The breadth of *pa* is reduced. *Pha* of Table B<sub>10</sub> looks like the letter *ḍha*. *Bha* and *sa* have their mouths open in Copper-plates while the stone inscriptions show a process of developing the modern Nāgarī tailed form. The left loop of *ma* was common in this period. *Ra* is of well developed cursive tailed variety. *Va*, when triangular, has slanted base; and when rounded, bends right vertical. Both forms of *śa*, looped and round topped, are present. The middle bar of *sha* in the stone inscriptions is in the shape of horizontal bar while it is slanting in the Copper-plates.

The ligatures are still formed by placing the consonants one upon the other. Subscripts right verticals extend up to the top of the letters. Superscripted *b* of Table B<sub>3</sub> is represented by a distinguishing sign while generally it is denoted by the sign of *va*. Superscript *r* of *rma* in Table B<sub>8</sub> shows the modern shape.

Generally, medial *ā* is denoted by a short vertical line in the stone inscriptions and long vertical line in the Copper-plates. In the case of *ṇā*, old upward cursive form is still present. The cursive type of *u* is more common. However, the use of vertical wedged form may be also seen in Table B<sub>8</sub>. In the case of the medials *e*, *ai*, *o* and *au*; the older style of the left horizontal stroke is more frequently employed in the Copper-plates. The ornate style survives in the medial signs of stone inscriptions.

Ojha<sup>6</sup> noticed Dighwā-Dubaulī inscription as the first epigraph of Nāgarī script. However, the alphabets do not follow the full covering head-line, like an *a*, *gha*, *pa*, *ma*, etc. and the sporadic use of acute-angles, such as in *ma*, entitle to be considered as an inscription of the transitional phase.

The further evolution during 10th century A.D. are represented in Tables C<sub>4</sub> and C<sub>6</sub> which have been taken from the Bengāl Asiatic Society's plate of Vināyakapāla (A.D. 931)<sup>7</sup> and Bharat Kala Bhavan plate of Harirāja (A.D. 983).<sup>8</sup> Bühler<sup>9</sup> is of the view that in Northern and Central India, Nāgarī appears first on the Copper-plate of the Mahārāja Vināyakapāla of Mahodaya. But, it may be seen in Table C<sub>4</sub> that the head-mark is a broad triangle or wedge which does not cover, optionally, the letter *ma*, *ya*, *sa*; base of the letter *pa*, *ma* is slanted; and lower limb of the vertical line turns rightwards. In the formation of the ligatures old pattern is adopted.

In the observation of the Bharat Kala Bhavan plate it may be noticed that the plate is engraved in a simple style. Head-mark is in line form which regularly covers the full breadth of the letters. Even on the top of *ṭha* and *ṇa*, head-mark is formed. Right verticals show a straight line form. Most of the ligatures represent a process of following the pattern of modern rule, conjuncting side by side. Except *e*, medial signs have uniformity throughout and attain modern shapes. As far the development of letters is concerned, *ka*, *kha*, *ga*, *ta* *tha*, *da*, *na*, *pa*, *ya*, *ra*, *la*, *va* and *ha* have taken Nāgarī shapes; and *gha*, *cha*, *ja*, *ṭha*, *ṇa*, *pha*, *śa*, *sha*, *sa*, etc., are nearer to the modern form. On the whole, the characteristics of the alphabet entitle Bharat Kala Bhavan plate to be considered as the inscription of Nāgarī.

**B<sub>II</sub>.** Table B<sub>7</sub> is taken from the Pāṇḍukeśvar (Garhwal, U.P.) Plate of Lalitāsuraśiva (A.D. 854) to represent the development of script in the inscription of the local ruler. Barāh Plate of Bhojadeva (A.D. 836) is also found from U.P., however, there is a remarkable difference in the alphabets of these two inscriptions. In the Barāh Plate (Table B<sub>6</sub>), head-mark is denoted by a small line while in the present inscription a solid-triangle is formed and tail is small. The Kuṭīla features are prominent in the present inscription. *Kha* is of open-mouthed variety like in eastern style. *Ṭa* and *ṭha* are without top-mark. *ṇa* shows open-mouthed form with sloppy base. *Tha* is of peculiar variety with an added right vertical. *Na* is denoted by



archaic broad looped form and *la* has an outer bend at the lower extremity of the left curve. Medial *ā* is formed by attaching a triangular or short line instead of full perpendicular line. Medial *u* is of many types, such as wedged vertical, hollow triangular, cursive, or rightwards extended form.

**B<sub>III</sub>.** Table B<sub>9</sub> is illustrated from the Kāritālāi Stone inscription of Lakshmaṇarāja I (A.D. 840–41) and Table C<sub>8</sub> from the Kāritālāi inscription of Lakshmaṇarāja II (A.D. 945–70) to show the evolution in the Kalachuri alphabet. The head-mark of Table B<sub>9</sub> is in triangular form which is broader and covers the tops of some letter in Table C<sub>8</sub>. The letter *ga* of Table B<sub>9</sub> looks like *rā*. Left limb of *kha* still shows triangular foot-mark. *Gha* shows a process of developing modern features. *Ṇa* retains open-mouthed shape and *ta* is of curved variety. The upper left limb of *dha* bends leftwards in order to form a horn like later shape. *Bha* and *sa* are of wedged variety in Table B<sub>9</sub> and with mouths open in Table C<sub>8</sub>.

The stroke of the medial signs in Table B<sub>9</sub> have here and there been ornamentally treated and much elongated in serpentine form. The medials of Table C<sub>8</sub> are of simple variety but still they are not uniform.

**B<sub>IV</sub>.** Table C<sub>5</sub> is taken from Dewal (Pilibhit, U.P.) Praśasti of Lalla (A.D. 992). J. Princep<sup>10</sup> termed the alphabet of this inscription as the Kuṭila alphabet while Bühler<sup>11</sup> puts it into the group of North Indian Nāgarī. The palaeography shows some peculiarities which may be due to the writer and engraver, the former, belonged to Gaṇḍadeśa and the latter from Kānyakubja.<sup>12</sup> The inscription itself refers to the writer as “*Kuṭilāksharāṇi Vidushā*,” ‘well versed in writing Kuṭila letters’.

The head-mark is a solid triangle or wedge, which sometimes becomes broader or develops into line form. The initial vowel *a* shows a foot-mark and *e* is without a tail. Among consonants, *kha*, *ga* and *śa* have a hollow triangle in the left limb. *Gha* is still of three armed variety. Lower curve of *ḍa* in *ḍā* prolongs leftward in modern Nāgarī style. *Dha* extends upwards its right vertical. The right curve of *na* and the middle bar of *ma* start from the upper portion and the left loop of both letters are open. The



archaism may be seen in three full armed *gha*, headless *ṭha*, open-mouthed *ṇa* and tailless *ha*.

**B<sub>v</sub>.** The characteristics of the Chandella alphabet are shown in Table C<sub>7</sub>, taken from the Khajurāho inscription of Yaśovarmā (A.D. 954). In the formation of the letter and medial sign taste of ornamentation may be seen. The head-mark is represented by broad-wedge shape and lower portion further extends into a rightward curve. Initial *a* is developing in the direction of modern Nāgarī. Lower rightward curve of *i* bends downwards with a stroke to the left like that in Peheṇā Inscription (Table B<sub>8</sub>). *U* is without head-mark. *E* shows a developed tail and looks Nāgarī in form.

Among consonants, the tail is well marked in every letter. Even an unusual tail is seen in the left limb of *bha*. *Gha* retains three arms and *ṇa* is of open-mouthed variety. *Pha* has a peculiar shape, nearer to the same letter in Dewal Praśasti of Lalla the Chhinda (Table C<sub>5</sub>). Ligature approaches the modern Nāgarī style. The medial *ā* is generally formed by a vertical line, while in *ṭā* hooked or cursive form is still present. Both forms, wedged and cursive, are employed for medial *u*. *E* is formed with a top stroke as well as with a vertical line at the left.

**B<sub>vi</sub>.** The Mālava Copper-plate of Vākpatirāja (A.D. 974) and Harsol (Ahmedabad, Gujarāt) Grants of Sīyaka (A.D. 948) are selected and illustrated in Tables C<sub>9</sub> & C<sub>13</sub>; to represent the characteristics of Paramāra alphabet. The head-mark is a broad-wedge in Table C<sub>9</sub> and line or notched form in Table C<sub>13</sub>. The forms of the letters in Mālava plate are bold type in the forming of which cursive hand is adopted. Lower extremity of the letters is further extended to the right. Initial *a* shows a foot-mark; the curves of *a*, *e* and *u* prolong upwards. However, initial *a* of Table C<sub>13</sub> bears no foot-mark; tail is yet to develop in *e*; the loop of *pha* transforms into a curve and is placed to the right of the straight vertical line. Most of the letters show developed forms.

In the formation of ligature, modern features may be seen. *Ksha* shows almost the modern form. Superscript *ṇ* is without a dot. Subscript *chha*

is of the oval variety with a tail; *ṭa* shows an additional stroke to the right of the letter. Superscript *s* and ligature *tsa* of Table C<sub>9</sub> represent the modern features.

Medials are of fully developed variety. However, variations may be seen in the form of *ā* of Table C<sub>13</sub>—full perpendicular, short stroke and cursive form. Medial *e* also is of both types.

**B<sub>VII</sub>.** Table C<sub>10</sub> is taken from the Śaraṇeśvara (Udaipur, Rajasthan) Temple Inscription of Guhil King Allat (A.D. 953). The head-mark is a mixture of triangular and line form. Generally, the vertical line is straight. Initial vowels have no remarkable development. Among consonants, both limbs of letter *ka* hang from the head-line or simply touch it. Developing forms of *gha* and *cha* have a tail, *ṭa* bears a head-mark, *ṇa* is of cursive variety and *ba* is shown by a separate sign. However, left limb of *kha* retains a triangular shape, lower arm of *ja* is not prolonged into leftward curve, *dha* is still of bulgy type and *na* is of broad looped variety. In the formation of medial *e* continuity of the ornate style may be noticed.

**B<sub>VIII</sub>.** Table C<sub>11</sub> is derived from Harsha (Rajasthan) Inscription of Chāhamāna Vigharāja (A.D. 973). The vertical line is almost straight; head-mark is represented by broad wedged shape and rarely covers the entire breadth of the letter. Rare initial *au* is of peculiar variety, formed by adding a vertical line with a horizontal bar to the form of initial *o*. The left limbs of *kha*, *ga* and *śa* show hollow triangled foot-mark. *Gha* is in a developing process. *Chha* is of peculiar type in which right loop is detached from the left one and shows one step ahead from contemporary signs to take the form of modern Nāgarī. Middle bar of *ja* is extended. Headline of *ṭa* becomes a regular feature. Middle bar of *la* is short and parallel to the head-mark. The lower left limb of *sa* is growing into the modern tail form. But *ṭha* is still without head-mark, *na* is to develop vertical form and *ha* is without a tail. In the formation of medial *e*, the use of ornate double curved form may be seen. Medial *au* is represented by superscribed two horned and a vertical line form in *gau*.



**B<sub>IX</sub>.** Table C<sub>12</sub> is taken from the Bālerā (Sāñchor, Rajasthan) Plates of Chālukya Mūlarāja I. Generally, the head-mark is in notched shape, formed by two curved strokes. The lower extremity of the letters further prolongs to the right. The left limb of *kha* shows a process of developing the tail and the inner loop of right portion becomes rounded. Both lower arms of *ja* are further extended. Lower limb of *ḍa* is on its way of developing into a leftward curve shape. The right limb of *ta* is developing into vertical shape. *Na* approaches modern feature with right vertical and downwards open left loop. *Ha* has a developed tail in left limb. *Bha* and *sa* are of open-mouthed variety. In ligatures, superscript *r* shows the modern cursive form. Medial *e* is formed by superscript sign as well as perpendicular line.

### General Remarks

In reviewing of the palaeography of the region as a whole, it may be observed that from the viewpoint of development most of the letters reveal modern characters. In the formation of ligatures the consonants come side by side in which the first letter loses inherent *a* and is mutilated in order to combine with the other letter. Medial signs are also standardized and modern form of *halanta* sign is employed. But verticals are generally bent to the right and head-mark always do not cover the full breadth of the letter. However, it can be said that the Bharat Kala Bhavan Plate of Harirāja contains more advanced forms from this point of view and may be treated as the first, or the earliest dated record of Nāgarī.

### Western India and the Deccan

Rāshtrakūṭas of Western India were the strongest and most victorious rulers of that region. They conquered not only the Prāthāras but also the Pālas of Bengal. Notwithstanding the influence of the cultural activities of Northern India they were bound to use the script of that region in incising inscriptions. The credit for popularising the proto-Nāgarī of North in Western India goes to the Rāshtrakūṭas.

#### C<sub>I</sub>. Inscriptions of Rāshtrakūṭas

I have selected Gujarāt Plates of Dantivarmā of A.D. 867 (Table B<sub>11</sub>), Bagumrā Plates of Kṛishṇa II of A.D. 888 (Table B<sub>12</sub>) from Gujarat region;



and Dharur Plates of Govinda III of A.D. 806 (Table B<sub>13</sub>), Javakheḍ Plates of Amoghavarsha I of A.D. 820 (Table B<sub>14</sub>), Sañjāṇ Plates of Amoghavarsha I of A.D. 871 (Table B<sub>16</sub>) from the Maharashtra region to represent developments during 9th century A.D.

Head-mark is in short line form and it does not always cover the full top of the letter. Initial *a* of Table B<sub>11</sub> shows a foot-mark while in other inscriptions it is not present. In the formation of *ā*, in the Gujarat region a full perpendicular line is added to the right of the initial *a* while in Maharashtra only a slanting stroke to the middle of the vertical line is formed. The roofed variety of initial *i* is seen in Gujarat epigraphs whereas the old form is retained in Maharashtra. *E* of Gujarat region reveals a fully developed form.

The right limb of the letter *ka* in Gujarat prolongs rightwards. The left limb tail in *kha* still persists and the right portion shows many varieties like inner triangular, inner rounded and outer opened triangular shape. *Gha* of Gujarāt and Sañjāṇ Plates is on its way to development. The other two inscriptions reveal the archaic form of three armed *gha*. The three armed *ja* is still retained in Maharashtra while in other parts only the transitional form of the letter is employed. *ṭa* of Gujarat shows modern form whereas it is on its way to development in Maharashtra. *ṭha* is denoted by a plain circle. *ṇa* of both regions is only in cursive form while in other regions open-mouthed variety of the letter is also employed. *tha* is of developed variety in which only the top-stroke is needed. Table B<sub>14</sub> shows a peculiar inner curve or loop in the form of *tha*. *Na* shows only the cursive form of the looped variety. The breadth of *pa* is reduced. *Pha* is of two types—one with inner loop and other with outer loop. The open-mouthed type of *bha* is common, but in Gujarāt Plate a wedged form of the letter may be noticed. The letter *lā* of Table B<sub>11</sub> shows a process of developing into the Marāṭhī *lā*. The letter *śa* is of many varieties in which modern form of the letter can also be noticed (Pls. 34, B<sub>11</sub>; 40, 46, 50, B<sub>14</sub>). Generally, *sa* is of open mouthed variety. Table B<sub>12</sub> shows full developed form of modern *ha* (Pl. 32).

In ligatures curved form of *k* still persists. *Khyā* of Table B<sub>11</sub> is of modern type. *Gma* of Table B<sub>14</sub> is formed side by side. Superscript *ñ* of Maharashtra is still in two armed form while in other regions upper arm merges in the head-mark. *Jña* of Table B<sub>12</sub> is peculiar. Superscript *ñ* of Table B<sub>14</sub> shows both forms—cursive and full. Conjunction with the initial letter *t* shows the use of modern practice. Superscript *s* of Table B<sub>11</sub> approaches the modern form. *Rya* of Table B<sub>11</sub> (Pl. 58) shows the old pattern of conjuncting the full form of the letters which is peculiar in formation.

Medial *ā* is generally shown in long vertical form and optionally in cursive form (cf. *jā*, *tā*, *ñā*, Pl. 33). The medial *u* of Table B<sub>11</sub> is in wedged shape while in general cursive form is employed. For *e* more than one form is used in which top-stroke variety is more common. In other forms, Table B<sub>11</sub> shows a full extended line to the left of the letter. Inscriptions of Maharashtra reveal the use of a hook to the left top.

The evolution of alphabets during the 10th century A.D. is recorded in Tables C<sub>14</sub> and C<sub>15</sub>; derived respectively from the Bagumrā Plates of Indrarāja III (A.D. 914) and Deoli Plates of Kṛishṇa III (A.D. 940). In this period the head mark developed into full covering line. Letters have a rightwards bend at the lower extremity. The initial *a* is of two varieties, representing modern features. *Ā* of Table C<sub>14</sub> shows archaism in joining stroke to the middle of the vertical line. *I* of Table C<sub>15</sub> shows an additional stroke in the lower portion. *E* is yet to develop a long tail. The use of archaic curved form of *ka* may be seen in *kṛi* (Pl. 73) and ligatures (Pl. 89). The left limbs of the letters *kha*, *ga* and *śa* show a hollow triangular loop. Sometimes, the right portion of the letter *kha* is in the form of an outer loop with open mouth like eastern India. The letter *gha* shows a process of development, the full middle arm of Table C<sub>14</sub> is reduced into a tick in Table C<sub>15</sub> (Pl. 61). *Chha* is of the oval variety with a tail. The lower arm of *ja* is short in Table C<sub>14</sub>, but in the other inscription it has taken an elegant cursive feature and middle bar is in the process of taking vertical shape. *ṭha* is yet to develop the head-mark. Lower limb of *ḍa* is



on the way of developing into a leftward bend. The vertical form of *ta* and *na* may be seen in Table C<sub>14</sub>. *Pa* attains modern Nāgarī form. In the outer looped type of *pha* head-mark disappears. The mouth of *bha* and *sa* are opened. The looped form of *śa* shows many varieties. *Ha* has developed a tail.

In ligature superscript *ñ* is in full form. Subscript *ṭa* mouth opens to the right. Superscript *ś* of *ścha*, with an outer loop and slanted foot-mark, is reaching nearer to the modern form. Ligatures are generally formed by conjunction of one consonant upon the other.

With general perpendicular line the cursive form of medial *ā* is also noticed in *ṭā*. The vertical type *e* is more common. Other two forms are side stroke or hooked and top-stroke. In *śu* of Table C<sub>15</sub>, a slanting stroke is added to the right vertical of the letter for denoting medial *u*.

## C<sub>II</sub>. Inscriptions of Śilāhāras

Table B<sub>15</sub> is taken from three Kanherī Cave Inscriptions of Pullaśakti and Kāpardi II (A.D. 843, 853 & 877). These inscriptions are in a mutilated condition and eye copies of Mirashi are unsatisfactory from the viewpoint of palaeography. But one can not afford to leave these inscriptions because earlier epigraphers like Sukthankar<sup>13</sup> considered them the first Nāgarī inscriptions.

The head-mark is in the line form, but it may be marked that the entire breadth of the letter is not always covered by it. Ligatures are formed in old style by conjuncting one upon the other. Medial *ā* is denoted by long or short vertical line, or cursive form. Medial *u* is generally of wedged type and occasionally cursive. Both forms of *e* are present.

As far as the development of an alphabet is concerned these inscriptions reveal the advanced forms of letters. Initial *a* and *ā* have attained modern shapes. *I* is of roofed variety. Generally, the left limbs of *kha*, *ga* and *śa* show a triangular loop. *Gha* retains three arms. The lower arm of *ja* does not show developed curve. *Ta* is still of double curved form.



Left curve of *va* becomes rounded. *Ha* has developed a tail. Base of the letters like *cha*, *pa*, *ma* and *sha* are slanted.

The development of 10th century A.D. is illustrated in Table C<sub>16</sub>, taken from the Janjirā Plates of Aparājita (A.D. 993). The head-mark covers the whole letter. Initial *a* bears a triangular foot-mark while the Rāshtrakūṭa inscriptions of the same region, optionally, show only a stroke type of addition in the vertical line. The left limb of *c* is also straight instead of curved. The left limbs of *kha*, *ga* and *śa* still retain triangular loop. *Gha* shows a step further from the point of view to approach the Nāgarī form. Middle bar of *ja* becomes almost vertical and lower portion is curved in an artistic manner. The rare *jha* is also employed. *Ta* and *na* are of developed vertical form. *Pha* shows a distinct feature with an addition of a stroke to the lower portion of the loop. The base of the letters become parallel to the head-mark. Left portion of *va* shows an elegant rounded form in the place of curve, or triangle. *Ha* has only a short tail.

Ligatures are of the developing type in which superscript *ṇ* is still without a dot and subscript *chha* is of oval variety. *Dya* looks modern in character. Superscript *r* is in modern curved form. The right vertical type of subscript is conjuncting with the right limb of initial letter *h* while in other type joins with the left limb. Medial signs are usual, as in that time.

### General Remarks

On the whole, the above palaeographical observation reveals that even the western inscriptions of 10th century A.D. retain ornamentation in twisting the letter and straight vertical is yet to be formed. Most of the head-marks do not entirely cover the letters. The use of the archaic as well as the advanced forms of letters would indicate that the alphabet employed in the inscriptions was in transition and under the influence of the local style.

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4. "The Origin.", pp. 128–31.
5. The Origin., p., 69.
6. *Bhāratīya.*, p., 69.
7. Bühler antedated Bengāl Asiatic Society's Plate of Vināyakapāla in A.D. 794, *Indian.*, p., 70.
8. The find-spot of the Plate and the story of its discovery are unknown. But it is stated that the Plates were purchased from a resident of Tikamgaḍh in the former Orccha state, now in Madhya Pradesh, D.C. Sircar, *EI*, XXXI, p., 309.
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4. Pandukesvar plate of Subhaksharajadeva of year 4, *Ibid.*, XXXI, pp. 290–98, Pl. f. p., 293.
5. Dewal Prasasti of Lalla the Chhinda, G. Bühler, *Ibid.*, I, pp. 75–85, Pl. f. p., 76; (Table N<sub>20</sub>).\*
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7. A fragmentary inscription from Kadawaha, Mirashi, & A. M. Shastri, *Ibid.*, XXXVII, pp. 117–24, Pl. f. p., 122.
8. **Inscriptions from Maihar**, Sircar & Subrahmanyam, *Ibid.*, XXXV, pp. 171–78, Pls. b. pp. 176–77.

9. Maser inscription of a Sulki Chief, M. Venkataramayya, *Ibid.*, XXIX, pp. 18–28, Pl. f. p., 27.
10. Vaillabhattachasvamin Temple inscription of A.D. 876, E. Hultzsch, *Ibid.*, I, pp. 159–62, Pl. f. p., 160.
11. Gwalior inscription of the time of Patangasambhu, V. V. Mirashi, *JMPIP*, IV, pp. 3–12, Pl. 1.
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16. Chatsu inscription of Guhila Baladitya, D. R. Bhandarkar, *Ibid.*, XII, pp. 10–17, Pl. f. p., 14.
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18. Bayana inscription of Chitrlekha of A.D. 955, *EI*, XXII, pp. 120–27, Pls. b. pp. 122–23.
19. Mandkila Tal inscription of A.D. 986, B. Ch. Chhabra, *Ibid.*, XXXIV, pp. 79–92, Pls. b. pp. 82–83.
20. A Jaina Pedestal inscription of A.D. 994, P. Banerjee, *JASL*, XIX, pp. 109–10, Pl. f. p., 110.

## Western India

### *Inscriptions of Rāshtrakūṭas*

1. Anjanavati plate of Govinda III of A.D. 800, V. V. Mirashi & L. R. Kulkarni, *EI*, XXIII, pp. 8–18, Pl. f. p., 16.

2. Jharika grant of Govinda III of A.D. 803, V. B. Kolte, *Ibid.*, XXXII, pp. 157–64, Pls. b. pp. 160–61 & 162–63.
3. Nesarika grant of Govinda III of A.D. 805, P. L. Gupta, *Ibid.*, XXXIV, pp. 125–36, Pls. b. pp. 130–31, & f. p., 134.
4. Dharur plates of Govinda III of A.D. 806, V. V. Mirashi & M. A. Gore, *Ibid.*, XXXVI, pp. 285–96, Pls. b. pp. 292–93; (Table B<sub>13</sub>).\*
5. Radhanpur plates of Govinda III of A.D. 808, F. Kielhorn, *Ibid.*, VI, pp. 239–51, Pls. b. pp. 244–45.
6. Wani grant of Govinda Prabhutavarsha of A.D. 808, J. F. Fleet, *IA*, XI, pp. 156–63, Pls. b. pp. 158–59, & 160–61.
7. Two Copper plates of Govinda III of Berar of A.D. 807 & 812, V. V. Mirashi, *EI*, XXIII, pp. 204–23, Pls. b. pp. 210–11 & 220–21.
8. Javakhed plate of Amoghavarsha of A.D. 820, D. R. Bhat, *EI*, XXXII, pp. 129–34, Pls. b. pp. 130–31, 132–33, & f. p., 134; (Table N<sub>28</sub>).\*
9. Surat plates of Karakaraja Suvarnavarsha of A.D. 821, A. S. Altekar, *Ibid.*, XXI, pp. 133–47, Pls. b. pp. 140–41.
10. A Copper-plate of Dhruva II of A.D. 835, E. Hultzsch, *IA*, XIV, pp. 196–203, Pls. b. pp. 200–01.
11. Gujarat plates of Dantivarman of A.D. 867, D. R. Bhandarkar, *EI*, VI, pp. 285–94, Pls. b. pp. 290–91 & to f. p., 294; (Table B<sub>11</sub>).\*
12. Sanjan plates of Amoghavarsha of A.D. 871, D.R. Bhandarkar, *Ibid.*, XVIII, pp. 235–57, Pls. b. pp. 248–49; (Table B<sub>16</sub>).\*
13. A new Copper plate of Dhruva of A.D. 884, A. S. Altekar, *Ibid.*, XXII, pp. 64–76, Pls. b. pp. 74–75 & f. p., 76.
14. Bagumra plates of Krishna of A.D. 888, E. Hultzsch, *IA*, XIII, pp. 65–69, Pls. f. p., 65 & 68; (Table B<sub>12</sub>).\*
15. Jambgaon grant of Indra III of A.D. 914, V. V. Mirashi, *EI*, XXXVI, pp. 223–38, Pls. b. pp. 234–35.



16. Navasari grant of Indra III of A.D. 914, *JBBRAS*, XVIII, pp. 257-69, Pls. b. pp. 316-17.
17. Bagumra plates of Indra III of A.D. 914, D. R. Bhandarkar, *EI*, IX, pp. 24-41, Pls. b. pp. 30-31 & 34-35; (Table C<sub>14</sub>).\*
18. Two grants of Indra III from Vajrakheda of A.D. 914, V. B. Kolte, *Ibid.*, XXXVIII, pp. 5-22, Pls. b. pp. 16-17 & 20-21.
19. Chinchani plates of Indra III of A.D. 926, D. C. Sircar, *Ibid.*, XXXII, pp. 45-55, Pls. b. pp. 52-53; (Table N<sub>29</sub>).\*
20. Gaonri fragmentary grant of Govinda IV of A.D. 929, K. N. Dikshit, *Ibid.*, XXIII, pp. 106-08, Pls. b. pp. 106-07.
21. Andhura plates of Govinda IV of A.D. 929, V. V. Mirashi, *Ibid.*, XXXVI, pp. 257-72, Pls. b. pp. 268-69.
22. Cambay plates of Govinda IV of A.D. 930, D. R. Bhandarkar, *Ibid.*, VII, pp. 26-47, Pls. b. pp. 38-39 & 40-41.
23. Sangali grant of Govinda of A.D. 933, J. F. Fleet, *IA*, XII, pp. 247-55, Pls. b. pp. 250-51; (Table N<sub>29</sub>).\*
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25. Chinchani plates of Krishna III, D. C. Sircar, *Ibid.*, XXXII, pp. 55-60, Pl. f. p. 58.
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27. Kolagallu inscription of Khottiga of A.D. 967, N. L. Rao, *Ibid.*, XXI, pp. 260-67, Pls. b. pp. 264-65.
28. Kolhapur plates of Akalavarsha, K. G. Kundanagar, *JBBRAS*, NS, X, pp. 21-37, Pls. b. pp. 20-21.
29. Rashtrakuta grant of Amoghavarsha of A.D. 972, J. F. Fleet, *IA*, XII, Pls. b. pp. 266-67; (Table N<sub>29</sub>).\*

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### *Inscriptions of Chālukyas*

1. Grant of Mularaja of Anhilavada of A.D. 986, G. Bühler, *IA*, VI, pp. 180–93. Pls., b. pp. 192–93; (Table N<sub>30</sub>).\*
2. Balera plates of Mularaja I of A.D. 995, S. Konow *EI*, X, pp. 76–79, Pl. f. p., 78; (Table C<sub>12</sub>).\*

### *Inscriptions of Śilāhāras*

1. Kanheri cave inscription of Pullasakti of A.D. 843, V. V. Mirashi, *CII*, VI, Pls. I & II; (Table B<sub>15</sub>).\*
2. Kanheri cave inscription of Kapardina II. of A.D. 853 & 877, *Ibid.*, Pls. III–IV & V–VI; (Table B<sub>15</sub>).\*
3. Prince of Wales Museum Plates of Chhadvaideva, *Ibid.*, Pls. VII–VIII.
4. Pattanakudi Plates of Avasara of A.D. 988, B. R. Gopal & V. S. Subrahmanyam, *EI*, XXXVII, pp. 56–60, Pls. b. pp. 58–59.
5. Janjira plates of Aparajita (Set I & II) of A.D. 993, V. V. Mirashi, *CII*, VI, Pls. IX–XII & XIII–XVII; (Tables C<sub>16</sub> & N<sub>31</sub>).\*
6. Bhadan grant of Aparajita of A.D. 997, *Ibid.*, Pls. XVIII–XX; (Table N<sub>31</sub>).\*

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1. Ghumli grant of the time of Agguka II of A.D. 832, A. S. Altekar, *EI*, XXVI, pp. 185–226, Pls. f. p., 200.
2. Ghumli grant of Jaika I, *Ibid.*, Pl. f. p., 206.
3. An incomplete grant of Ranaka, *Ibid.*, Pls. b. pp. 170–71.
4. Ghumli grant of Ranaka of A.D. 874, *Ibid.*, Pls. b. pp. 214–15.
5. Ghumli grant of Agguka III of A.D. 886, *Ibid.*, Pl. f. p., 220.
6. Ghumli grant of king Jaika II of A.D. 915, *Ibid.*, Pl. f. p., 224.

*Miscellaneous*

1. Amra-Nath inscription of Mahamvanirajadeva of A.D. 860, Bhau Daji, *JBBRAS*, IX, pp. 219–21, Pl. f. p., 218.
2. Kamkhed plates of the time of Pratapasila, V. V. Mirashi, *EI*, XXII, pp. 93–96, Pls. b. pp. 94–95.
3. An inscription at Salotgi in the Kaldgi District of A.D. 945, S. P. Pandit, *IA*, I, pp. 205–11, Pls. b. pp. 210–11.
4. Chicacole plates of Ganga Madhu-Kavarannadeva of A.D. 923, G. Ramadas, *JBORS*, XVIII, pp. 272–95, Pls. b. pp. 294–95; (Tables C<sub>3</sub> & N<sub>18</sub>).\*
5. An incomplete grant of Sind Adityavarma II of A.D. 965, V. V. Mirashi & M. G. Dikshit, *EI*, XXV, pp. 164–71, Pls. b. pp. 170–71.



### References for Plates 31–60 (9th Century)

Table	Inscription	Date in A.D.	Reference
B <sub>1</sub>	Nālandā plates of Devapāla	—	<i>EI</i> , XVII, Pls. b. pp. 320–21.
	Mungir plates of Devapāla	—	<i>EI</i> , XVIII, Pls. f. pp. 304 & 306.
B <sub>2</sub>	Gayā inscription of Nārāyaṇapāla	—	<i>EI</i> , XXXV, Pl. f. p., 228.
	Badāl inscription of Nārāyaṇapāla	—	<i>EI</i> , II, Pl. f. p., 160.
B <sub>3</sub>	Dighwā-Dubaulī plate of Mahendrapāla	898	<i>IA</i> , XV, Pl. f. p., 112.
B <sub>4</sub>	Parbatiyā plates of Vanamālavarmā	—	<i>EI</i> , XXIX, Pls. b. pp. 154–55.
B <sub>5</sub>	Pettaṣar grant of Netabhañja	885	<i>EI</i> , XXVII, Pls. b. pp. 338–39.
B <sub>6</sub>	Barāh plate of Bhoja	836	<i>EI</i> , XIX, Pl. f. p., 18.
B <sub>7</sub>	Pāṇḍukeśvar plate of Lalitaśūra	854	<i>EI</i> , XXXI, Pl. f. p., 280.
B <sub>8</sub>	Pehevā inscription of Mahendrapāla	—	<i>EI</i> , I, Pl. f. p., 244.
B <sub>9</sub>	Kāritālī inscription of Lakshmaṇa	840	<i>CII</i> , IV, Pl. XXXA

B <sub>10</sub>	Sāgar-Tāl inscription of Bhoja	—	ASI, AR, 1903–04, Pl. f. p., 280.
B <sub>11</sub>	Gujarāt plates of Dantivarmā	867	EI, VI, Pls. b. pp. 290–91 & f. p., 294.
B <sub>12</sub>	Bagumrā plates of Kṛishṇa II	888	IA, XIII, Pls. b. pp. 65 & 68.
B <sub>13</sub>	Dharur plates of Govinda III	806	EI, XXXVI, Pls. b. pp. 292–93.
B <sub>14</sub>	Javakheḍ plates of Amoghavar- sha I	820	EI, XXXII., Pls. b. pp. 130–31, & 132– 33.
B <sub>15</sub>	Kanherī cave inscription of Pullaśakti	843	CII, VI, Pls. I & II.
	Kanherī Cave inscription of Kāpardi II	853	CII, VI, Pls. III & IV.
	Kanherī cave inscription of Kāpardi II	877	CII, VI, Pls. V & VI.
B <sub>16</sub>	Saṅjān Plates of Amoghavarsha I	871	EI, XVIII, Pls. b. pp. 248–49.

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	β <sub>1</sub>	β <sub>2</sub>	β <sub>3</sub>	β <sub>4</sub>	β <sub>5</sub>	β <sub>6</sub>	β <sub>7</sub>	β <sub>8</sub>	β <sub>9</sub>	β <sub>10</sub>	β <sub>11</sub>	β <sub>12</sub>	β <sub>13</sub>	β <sub>14</sub>	β <sub>15</sub>	β <sub>16</sub>
VOWEL																
K	की	की		की	की		की	की		की	की	की	की	की	की	की
KH								खी			खी					
G	गी	गी		गी						गी	गी	गी	गी			
G <sub>H</sub>																
Ṇ																
CH	ची										ची	ची		ची		
CHH																
J	जी			जी	जी		जी			जी	जी	जी	जी	जी	जी	जी
JH																
Ṇ																
T	टी			टी						टी		टी	टी			
TH																
D												दी	दी	दी		
DH																
Ṇ	ली	ली		ली	ली	ली	ली			ली	ली	ली	ली	ली	ली	ली
T	नी	नी	नी	नी	नी	नी	नी	नी		नी	नी	नी	नी	नी	नी	नी



I																
	β <sub>1</sub>	β <sub>2</sub>	β <sub>3</sub>	β <sub>4</sub>	β <sub>5</sub>	β <sub>6</sub>	β <sub>7</sub>	β <sub>8</sub>	β <sub>9</sub>	β <sub>10</sub>	β <sub>11</sub>	β <sub>12</sub>	β <sub>13</sub>	β <sub>14</sub>	β <sub>15</sub>	β <sub>16</sub>
TH	थ											थ				
D	दी	दी	दी	दी	दी	दी	दी	दी		दी	दी	दी	दी	दी	दी	दी
DH		दी			दी			दी		दी	दी	दी		दी		दी
N	नी		नी	नी	नी		नी			नी	नी	नी	नी	नी	नी	नी
P	पी	पी		पी			पी				पी	पी				
PH																
B																
βH	दी	दी		दी			दी				दी			दी		
M	मी	मी		मी			मी			मी						मी
Y																
R	री	री	री	री	री	री	री	री		री	री	री	री	री	री	री
L	ली			ली	ली		ली	ली			ली	ली	ली	ली		ली
V	वी			वी	वी		वी	वी		वी	वी	वी	वी	वी	वी	वी
ś	शी	शी		शी			शी				शी	शी				शी
SH	षी			षी									षी	षी		
S	सी	सी		सी	सी		सी	सी		सी	सी	सी	सी	सी		सी
H				ही						ही	ही	ही	ही	ही		ही

[illegible]



U																
	B <sub>1</sub>	B <sub>2</sub>	B <sub>3</sub>	B <sub>4</sub>	B <sub>5</sub>	B <sub>6</sub>	B <sub>7</sub>	B <sub>8</sub>	B <sub>9</sub>	B <sub>10</sub>	B <sub>11</sub>	B <sub>12</sub>	B <sub>13</sub>	B <sub>14</sub>	B <sub>15</sub>	B <sub>16</sub>
TH	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ			ॐ									
D	ॐ	ॐ		ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ		ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ		ॐ
DH		ॐ		ॐ				ॐ	ॐ	ॐ		ॐ	ॐ	ॐ		
N	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ
P	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ
PH																
B																
BH	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ		ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ			ॐ
M	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ		ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ			ॐ
Y	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ		ॐ	ॐ	ॐ		ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ		ॐ
R	ॐ	ॐ		ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ		ॐ
L	ॐ	ॐ		ॐ				ॐ		ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ		ॐ
V	ॐ			ॐ		ॐ				ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ			ॐ
ś	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ		ॐ	ॐ		ॐ		ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ		ॐ
SH	ॐ	ॐ		ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ		ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ
S	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ
H	ॐ	ॐ		ॐ	ॐ		ॐ			ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ





9th CENTURY A.D.

PLATE 42

U																
	β <sub>1</sub>	β <sub>2</sub>	β <sub>3</sub>	β <sub>4</sub>	β <sub>5</sub>	β <sub>6</sub>	β <sub>7</sub>	β <sub>8</sub>	β <sub>9</sub>	β <sub>10</sub>	β <sub>11</sub>	β <sub>12</sub>	β <sub>13</sub>	β <sub>14</sub>	β <sub>15</sub>	β <sub>16</sub>
TH																
D	ॡ				ॡ	ॡ	ॡ	ॡ			ॡ	ॡ	ॡ	ॡ	ॡ	ॡ
DH	ॡ			ॡ			ॡ				ॡ	ॡ	ॡ	ॡ	ॡ	ॡ
N											ॡ	ॡ				ॡ
P	ॡ	ॡ		ॡ	ॡ			ॡ		ॡ	ॡ	ॡ	ॡ	ॡ	ॡ	ॡ
PH				ॡ						ॡ	ॡ	ॡ	ॡ	ॡ	ॡ	ॡ
β																
BH		ॡ	ॡ	ॡ	ॡ	ॡ	ॡ	ॡ	ॡ	ॡ	ॡ	ॡ	ॡ	ॡ		ॡ
M		ॡ					ॡ	ॡ	ॡ		ॡ	ॡ	ॡ			ॡ
Y	ॡ										ॡ	ॡ	ॡ			ॡ
R	ॡ	ॡ		ॡ						ॡ					ॡ	ॡ
L															ॡ	ॡ
V				ॡ							ॡ					
ś	ॡ	ॡ		ॡ	ॡ		ॡ									ॡ
SH				ॡ											ॡ	
S	ॡ	ॡ		ॡ				ॡ	ॡ	ॡ	ॡ	ॡ	ॡ		ॡ	
H	ॡ	ॡ					ॡ				ॡ				ॡ	

	R															
	B <sub>1</sub>	B <sub>2</sub>	B <sub>3</sub>	B <sub>4</sub>	B <sub>5</sub>	B <sub>6</sub>	B <sub>7</sub>	B <sub>8</sub>	B <sub>9</sub>	B <sub>10</sub>	B <sub>11</sub>	B <sub>12</sub>	B <sub>13</sub>	B <sub>14</sub>	B <sub>15</sub>	B <sub>16</sub>
Vowel																
K	क	ख		ग	घ	ङ	च	छ	ज	झ	ञ	ट	ठ			ड
KH																
G	ग	घ		ग						ग						ग
GH													ग			
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TH																
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T	त			त	थ					त	थ	त	थ	त		त



	Rr															
	β <sub>1</sub>	β <sub>2</sub>	β <sub>3</sub>	β <sub>4</sub>	β <sub>5</sub>	β <sub>6</sub>	β <sub>7</sub>	β <sub>8</sub>	β <sub>9</sub>	β <sub>10</sub>	β <sub>11</sub>	β <sub>12</sub>	β <sub>13</sub>	β <sub>14</sub>	β <sub>15</sub>	β <sub>16</sub>
TH																
D	दृ	दृ		दृ		दृ		दृ	दृ		दृ	दृ	दृ	दृ		
DH	दृ											दृ				दृ
N	नृ	नृ		नृ	नृ		नृ	नृ	नृ	नृ	नृ	नृ	नृ	नृ	नृ	नृ
P	पृ	पृ					पृ	पृ		पृ					पृ	पृ
PH																
B										वृ						
BH	दृ	दृ		दृ			दृ	दृ	दृ	दृ	दृ	दृ	दृ	दृ	दृ	दृ
M	मृ	मृ		मृ	मृ		मृ	मृ	मृ	मृ	मृ	मृ				मृ
Y																
R																
L																
V	वृ	वृ	वृ	वृ	वृ	वृ	वृ	वृ	वृ	वृ	वृ	वृ	वृ	वृ	वृ	वृ
ś				शृ	शृ								शृ			
SH																
S		सृ										सृ				
H	हृ	हृ		हृ	हृ		हृ				हृ	हृ	हृ	हृ		हृ

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E																
	ᱪ <sub>1</sub>	ᱪ <sub>2</sub>	ᱪ <sub>3</sub>	ᱪ <sub>4</sub>	ᱪ <sub>5</sub>	ᱪ <sub>6</sub>	ᱪ <sub>7</sub>	ᱪ <sub>8</sub>	ᱪ <sub>9</sub>	ᱪ <sub>10</sub>	ᱪ <sub>11</sub>	ᱪ <sub>12</sub>	ᱪ <sub>13</sub>	ᱪ <sub>14</sub>	ᱪ <sub>15</sub>	ᱪ <sub>16</sub>
TH																
D	ᱤ	ᱥ	ᱦ	ᱧ	ᱨ	ᱩ	ᱪ	ᱫ	ᱬ	ᱭ	ᱮ	ᱯ	ᱰ	ᱱ	ᱲ	ᱳ
DH	ᱴ		ᱵ			ᱶ		ᱷ		ᱸ		ᱹ		ᱺ		ᱻ
N	ᱼ	ᱽ	᱾	᱿	᱀	᱁		᱂	᱃		᱄	᱅	᱆	᱇		᱈
P	᱉	᱊		᱋	᱌			ᱍ		ᱎ		ᱏ	᱐	᱑		᱒
PH																᱓
B																
BH	᱔	᱕									᱖	᱗				
M	᱘	᱙	ᱚ	ᱛ		ᱜ	ᱝ	ᱞ		ᱟ	ᱠ	ᱡ	ᱢ	ᱣ	ᱤ	ᱥ
Y	ᱦ	ᱧ	ᱨ	ᱩ	ᱪ	ᱫ	ᱬ	ᱭ		ᱮ	ᱯ	ᱰ	ᱱ	ᱲ		ᱳ
R	ᱴ	ᱵ		ᱶ	ᱷ	ᱸ	ᱹ	ᱺ		ᱻ	ᱼ	ᱽ	᱾	᱿	᱀	᱁
L	᱂	᱃		᱄	᱅		᱆			᱇	᱈	᱉	᱊	᱋	᱌	ᱍ
V	ᱎ	ᱏ		᱐	᱑		᱒	᱓	᱔	᱕	᱖	᱗	᱘	᱙		ᱚ
ś	ᱜ	ᱝ		ᱞ	ᱟ		ᱠ	ᱡ		ᱢ	ᱣ	ᱤ	ᱥ	ᱦ	ᱧ	ᱨ
SH				ᱩ		ᱪ					ᱫ					ᱬ
S	ᱭ				ᱮ		ᱯ	ᱰ			ᱱ		ᱲ	ᱳ		ᱴ
H	ᱵ	ᱶ	ᱷ	ᱸ	ᱹ	ᱺ	ᱻ	ᱼ		ᱽ		᱾	᱿	᱀		᱁



		Ar															
		B <sub>1</sub>	B <sub>2</sub>	B <sub>3</sub>	B <sub>4</sub>	B <sub>5</sub>	B <sub>6</sub>	B <sub>7</sub>	B <sub>8</sub>	B <sub>9</sub>	B <sub>10</sub>	B <sub>11</sub>	B <sub>12</sub>	B <sub>13</sub>	B <sub>14</sub>	B <sub>15</sub>	B <sub>16</sub>
Vowel																	
K		क		क								क	क	क	क		क
KH				ख													
G				ग	ग												
GH				घ													
Ṇ																	
CN								च				च	च				च
CHH																	
T												ट	ट				ट
JH																	
Ṇ																	
T																	
TH																	
D																	
DH				ड													
N	न	न					न	न		न	न	न	न	न	न		
T	न			न			न			न	न		न	न	न		



[illegible]



	B <sub>1</sub>	B <sub>2</sub>	B <sub>3</sub>	B <sub>4</sub>	B <sub>5</sub>	B <sub>6</sub>	B <sub>7</sub>	B <sub>8</sub>	B <sub>9</sub>	B <sub>10</sub>	B <sub>11</sub>	B <sub>12</sub>	B <sub>13</sub>	B <sub>14</sub>	B <sub>15</sub>	B <sub>16</sub>
TH	थ	थ		थ				थ				थ				थ
D	द							द		द	द	द	द	द		
DH								ध	ध			ध				
N	न	न		न				न		न	न	न	न	न		न
P	प	प		प	प		प	प		प	प	प	प			
PH								फ								
B																
BH	ड	ड				ड	ड	ड		ड	ड	ड	ड	ड		ड
M	म		म	म		म	म	म		म	म	म	म	म		म
Y	य	य		य		य	य	य		य	य	य	य	य		य
R	र	र		र	र	र	र	र		र	र	र	र	र		र
L	ल	ल		ल	ल	ल	ल	ल		ल	ल	ल	ल	ल		ल
V	व		व	व	व	व	व	व		व	व	व	व	व		व
S	श	श		श		श		श		श	श	श	श	श		श
SH	ष							ष	ष		ष	ष	ष	ष		ष
S	स	स		स				स		स	स	स	स	स		स
H			ह	ह		ह		ह		ह	ह	ह	ह	ह		ह

		Ru															
		B <sub>1</sub>	B <sub>2</sub>	B <sub>3</sub>	B <sub>4</sub>	B <sub>5</sub>	B <sub>6</sub>	B <sub>7</sub>	B <sub>8</sub>	B <sub>9</sub>	B <sub>10</sub>	B <sub>11</sub>	B <sub>12</sub>	B <sub>13</sub>	B <sub>14</sub>	B <sub>15</sub>	B <sub>16</sub>
Vowel		उ															
K			क								ख	ग			क		क
KH																	
G		गो	गो		गो	गो		गो				गो	गो	गो	गो	गो	गो
G <sub>H</sub>																	
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K	KTYA	KYA	KRA	KSHA	KCHA	KRA	KLE	KSHA	KTA	KRA	KSHI		KTA	KTYA	KRA	KYA
KN					KHYA								KHYA			
G	GMAH	Gya	GRA	GVI	GMAH	GRA			GRA				GTYA	GMAH	Gya	GRA
GH	GHYA	GMAH														
N	NKHE	NGA	NIV	NDA	NMI	NGA	NMA	NSE					NGA	NHREH		
CH	CHNA	CHMAH	CHYA		CHNA	CHMAH			CHMAH				CHMAH	CHYA		
CHH																
J	JYA	JMAH	JYA	JVA	JYA	JMAH			JMAH				JYA	JMAH	JYA	JMAH
JH																
N	NMAH				NMAH	NJA							NMAH	NJA		
T	TYA				TMAH								TYA			
TH																
D																
DH																
N	NMAH	NJA	NYA		NMAH	NJA			NMAH	NYA			NMAH	NJA	NYA	
T	TMAH	TJA	TVA	TSA	TMAH	TJA	TVA	TSA	TMAH	TJA	TVA	TSA	TMAH	TJA	TVA	TSA

LIGATURES																
	B <sub>1</sub>				B <sub>2</sub>				B <sub>3</sub>				B <sub>4</sub>			
TH																
D	DDHA	DBHĀ	DYA	DRA	DGU	DDHA	DYA	DVRA	DDHA	DBHĀ	DMA	DRA	DGHĀ	DDHA	DYA	DVA
DH	DHYA	DHYVĀ			DHYĀ				DHYA				DHYVĀ			
N	NTYA	NDRA	NDHA	NPRA	NTAĀ	NDRA	NMA	NHĀ	NTA	NDRA	NPRA	NEA	NTA	NYA	NDRA	NDHYA
P	PYĀ	PRA	PLA		PTA	PPA	PYA	PRA	PPĀ	PYĀ	PRA		PTA	PYA	PRA	
PH																
B									BANU							
BH	BHYA	BHRA			BHYU	BHRA							BHYĀ	BHRA		
M	MYA	MRA	MHA	MVA	MYA	MHRA	MYA	MVA	MYA	MHA	MVA		MYA	MHA	MVA	
Y													YYA			
R	RYA	RYĀ	RYA	RYA	RYA	RYA	RYA	RYA	RYA	RYA	RYA	RYA	RYA	RYA	RYA	RYA
L	LYA	LYA	LYA	LYA	LYA	LYA	LYA	LYA	LYA	LYA	LYA	LYA	LYA	LYA	LYA	LYA
V	VDHA	VYĀH	VRA		VDHA	VYA	VRA	VVA	VYĀH	VRA			VJA	VYĀ	VRA	
Ś	ŚCHA	ŚYĀ	ŚLA	ŚVA	ŚCHA	ŚYĀ	ŚVA		ŚCHA	ŚYĀ	ŚVA		ŚCHA	ŚYĀ	ŚLA	ŚVA
SH	SHYĀ	SHYĀ	SHYĀ	SHYĀ	SHYĀ	SHYĀ	SHYĀ	SHYĀ	SHYĀ	SHYĀ			SHYĀ	SHYĀ	SHYĀ	SHYĀ
S	SKA	SYA	SYA	SPA	SKA	STVĀ	SYA	SVA	STA	SNĀ	SYA	SSA	STA	SPHĀ	SYA	SVA
H	HMA	HMA	HMA		HMA	HMA			HMA				HMA			



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PLATE 50

# LIGATURES

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LIGATURES																
	B <sub>9</sub>				B <sub>10</sub>				B <sub>11</sub>				B <sub>12</sub>			
TH									THYA	THYI						
D	DDHA	DRA	DVA		DDHA	DSHĀ	DYAH	DVA	DDĀ	DDHA	DYA	DRA	DYA	DRA	DVA	DVA
DH					DHHA				DHYA	DHRU	DHYA		DHDHU	DHYA	DHYA	
N	NHA	NDRA	NPA	NVA	NDRA	NMA	NYA	NSRA	NHA	NDRA	NYA	NSVA	NCHA	NDA	NDRA	NMA
P	PHA				PTAM	PYA	PA		PTA	PPA	PYAH	PA	PTA	PYA	PA	PLA
BH																
B																
BH	BHYAH				BHRA				BHYAH	BHRA			BHYA	BHRA		
M	MVA				MHA	MMA	MRA	MLE	MHA	MHA	MVA	MHA				
Y					YHA				YHA							
R	RHA	RHA	RHA	RHA	RHA	RMA	RHA	RHA	RHA	RHA	RHA	RHA	RHA	RMA	RHA	RHA
L					LPA	LLA			LHA	LPA	LLA		LHA	LLA		
V	VYA				VHA	VHA			VHA	VHA	VYA	VRA	VHA	VYA	VRA	VYA
S	SHA				SHA	SYA	SRA	SLA	SHA	SYAH	SVA		SHA	SYA	SVA	
SH					SHHA	SHHA	SHYA		SHHA	SHHA	SHYA	SHYAH	SHTA	SHTHA	SHHA	SHMA
S	STU	SMA	SYA	SVĀ	STYA	STHA	SPA	SVĀ	SHA	SHĀ	SMA	SYA	SKA	STA	SYA	SVĀ
H	HHA				HHA				HHA				HMA	HHA		



LIGATURES																
	B 13				B 14				B 15				B 16			
K	KKU	KTA	KRA	KSHA	KTAH	KVA	KYA	KSHMYA	KTH	KSHA			KTA	KYA	KRA	KSHA
KH					KHYA				KHYA							
G	GGA	GNA	GYA	GRA	GGA	GNA	GMA	GRA					GNA	GYA	GRA	
GH	GHYA				GHYA				GHA				GHA			
N	NGA	NHA	NMA		NKA	NHA			NKA	NHA			NKA	NHA		
CH	CHGA	CHHA			CHGA				CHGA	CHYA			CHHA			
CHH																
J	JGA	JNA	JYA		JYA	JHA			JYA	JHA			JYA	JHA	JYA	
JH																
N					NHA	NHA										
T	TGA				TGA				TGA				TGA	TPA		
TH																
D					DDA								DDA	DDA		
DH																
N	NCHA	NDA	NYA		NTHA	NDA	NYA		NYA				NCHA	NTHA	NDA	NMA
T	TGA	TMA	TVA	TSA	TGA	TGA	TVA	TSA	TPA	TYA	TGA	TSA	TTHA	TPA	TYA	TSA

PLATE 60

# LIGATURES

B<sub>13</sub>

B<sub>14</sub>

B<sub>15</sub>

B<sub>16</sub>

TH

THVY

THV

D

DDHAY DABHAY DIMā DYAH DDHA DYA DRAH DVA DRA DDHA DDHA DYA DRA

DH

DHYA DHARU DHYA DHARU DHYA DHVA DHYE DHVA

N

NTYA NDRAH NMA NVA NDA NDHYA NMA NYA NTAH NTHA NDRA NTY NTHA NDA NVA

P

PTA PHE PYAH PRA PTAH PYA PRA PTA PYA PRA PTA PRA PYA PRA

PH

B

BH

BHYA BHRA BHYA BHYA

M

MPA MVA MMA MYAH MMA MYA MVA MPA MYA MVA

Y

YYA YYA

R

RHNA RTHA RYA RSHA RAH RNA RPA RSHA RHMA RDDHA RYA RSHA RAH RTHA RSHA RSHA

L

LPA LYA LLA LPA LLA LLA LYA LLA

V

VDHA VYAH VRA VDHA VYA VAR VDA VYA VYA VYA

Ś

ŚCHA ŚYAH ŚRA ŚVA ŚCHA ŚYAH ŚRA ŚVA ŚCHA ŚYA ŚVA ŚCHA ŚYA ŚVA ŚCHA ŚYA ŚVA

SH

SHYAH SHYA SHVA SHKAI SHNTA SHYA SHPA SHVA SHHA SHYA SHNTA SHYA SHVA

S

STA SMA SYA SVā SKA SPA SYA SVA STHA SMA SYA SVA STHA SPA SVA SSA

H

HMA HYA HLA HVRI HMA HMA HYA HMA HMA HVRI



**References for Plates 61–90**  
(10th Century)

Table	Inscription	Date in A.D.	Reference
C <sub>1</sub>	Nowgong plates of Balavarmā	—	<i>KŚ</i> , Pls., b. pp. 72–73 & 76–77.
C <sub>2</sub>	Bālangir Museum plates of Mahāśivagupta	—	<i>JASL</i> , XIX, Pls. b. pp. 124–25.
C <sub>3</sub>	Chicācole plates of Madhu-Kāvārṇṇa	923	<i>JBORS</i> , XVIII, Pls. b. pp. 294–95.
C <sub>4</sub>	Bengāl Asiatic Society's plate of Vināyakapāla	931	<i>IA</i> , XV, Pl. f. p., 140.
C <sub>5</sub>	Dewal Praśasti of Lalla	922	<i>EI</i> , I, Pl. f. p., 76.
C <sub>6</sub>	Bharat Kala Bhavan plate of Harirāja	983	<i>EI</i> , XXXI, Pl. f. p., 312.
C <sub>7</sub>	Khajurāho inscription of Yaśovarmā	954	<i>EI</i> , I, Pl. f. p., 122.
C <sub>8</sub>	Kāritālāi inscription of Lakshmaṇa II	—	<i>CII</i> , IV. Pl. XXXII.
C <sub>9</sub>	Mālava plates of Vākpati	974	<i>IA</i> , VI, Pls. f. pp. 51 & 52.
C <sub>10</sub>	Śaraṇesvara Temple inscription of Allat	953	<i>IA</i> , LVIII, Pl. f. p., 161.
C <sub>11</sub>	Harsha inscription of Vighraharāja	973	<i>EI</i> , II, Pl. f. p., 120.
C <sub>12</sub>	Bālerā plates of Mūlarāja I	994	<i>EI</i> , X, Pl. f. p., 78.



C <sub>13</sub>	Two Harsol grants of Sīyaka	948	<i>EI</i> , XIX, Pls. b. pp. 242–43.
C <sub>14</sub>	Bagumrā plates of Indra III	914	<i>EI</i> , IX, Pls. b. pp. 30–31 & 34–35.
C <sub>15</sub>	Deoli plates of Kṛishṇa III	940	<i>EI</i> , V, Pls. b. pp. 194–95.
C <sub>16</sub>	Janjirā plates of Aparājita	993	<i>CH</i> , VI, Pls. XIII–XVII.

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	C <sub>1</sub>	C <sub>2</sub>	C <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>4</sub>	C <sub>5</sub>	C <sub>6</sub>	C <sub>7</sub>	C <sub>8</sub>	C <sub>9</sub>	C <sub>10</sub>	C <sub>11</sub>	C <sub>12</sub>	C <sub>13</sub>	C <sub>14</sub>	C <sub>15</sub>	C <sub>16</sub>
Vowel																
K		का			की		की	का	की	की	का		की	की	की	की
KH		खी														खी
G					गी		गी			गी	गी		गी	गी	गी	
GH																
Ṇ																
CH							ची		ची	ची			ची		ची	
CHH																
J		जी	ती				डी	डी					डी	डी		डी
JH																
Ñ																
T		टी					टी									टी
TH																
D																दी
DH																
N		नी		ली		ली	ली	ली		ली					ली	
T		ती		ती	ती	ती	ती	ती		ती	ती		ती	ती	ती	ती



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	C <sub>1</sub>	C <sub>2</sub>	C <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>4</sub>	C <sub>5</sub>	C <sub>6</sub>	C <sub>7</sub>	C <sub>8</sub>	C <sub>9</sub>	C <sub>10</sub>	C <sub>11</sub>	C <sub>12</sub>	C <sub>13</sub>	C <sub>14</sub>	C <sub>15</sub>	C <sub>16</sub>
Th							ਈ				ਈ					
D	ਦੀ			ਦੀ	ਦੀ	ਦੀ	ਦੀ	ਦੀ	ਦੀ		ਦੀ	ਦੀ	ਦੀ	ਦੀ	ਦੀ	ਦੀ
Dh	ਵੀ			ਵੀ		ਵੀ	ਵੀ				ਵੀ					ਵੀ
N	ਨੀ	ਨੀ			ਨੀ	ਨੀ	ਨੀ	ਨੀ	ਨੀ	ਨੀ	ਨੀ	ਨੀ	ਨੀ	ਨੀ	ਨੀ	ਨੀ
P	ਪੀ		ਪੀ		ਪੀ		ਪੀ	ਪੀ			ਪੀ				ਪੀ	
Ph																
B																
Bh	ਦੀ						ਦੀ			ਦੀ	ਦੀ				ਦੀ	ਦੀ
M	ਮੀ					ਮੀ	ਮੀ	ਮੀ		ਮੀ				ਮੀ	ਮੀ	ਮੀ
Y		ਈ									ਈ					ਈ
R	ਰੀ	ਰੀ		ਰੀ	ਰੀ		ਰੀ	ਰੀ			ਰੀ		ਰੀ	ਰੀ		ਰੀ
L	ਲੀ				ਲੀ		ਲੀ	ਲੀ	ਲੀ		ਲੀ	ਲੀ		ਲੀ	ਲੀ	ਲੀ
V	ਵੀ				ਵੀ		ਵੀ	ਵੀ			ਵੀ			ਵੀ	ਵੀ	ਵੀ
ś	ਸ਼ੀ	ਸ਼ੀ		ਸ਼ੀ	ਸ਼ੀ		ਸ਼ੀ	ਸ਼ੀ		ਸ਼ੀ					ਸ਼ੀ	ਸ਼ੀ
Sh	ਥੀ															
S	ਸ਼ੀ		ਸ਼ੀ	ਸ਼ੀ	ਸ਼ੀ	ਸ਼ੀ	ਸ਼ੀ	ਸ਼ੀ			ਸ਼ੀ	ਸ਼ੀ	ਸ਼ੀ	ਸ਼ੀ	ਸ਼ੀ	ਸ਼ੀ
H	ਹੀ	ਹੀ		ਹੀ			ਹੀ	ਹੀ			ਹੀ	ਹੀ				ਹੀ



[illegible]

	U															
	C <sub>1</sub>	C <sub>2</sub>	C <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>4</sub>	C <sub>5</sub>	C <sub>6</sub>	C <sub>7</sub>	C <sub>8</sub>	C <sub>9</sub>	C <sub>10</sub>	C <sub>11</sub>	C <sub>12</sub>	C <sub>13</sub>	C <sub>14</sub>	C <sub>15</sub>	C <sub>16</sub>
Th								ॐ								ॐ
D	८				८		८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८
Dh		८		८		८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८
M	८	८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८
P	८	८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८
Ph														८		
B									८							
Bh	८	८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८
M	८	८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८
Y	८		८ ८	८ ८	८ ८		८		८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८
R	८	८	८		८	८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८
L		८		८		८		८ ८	८ ८				८			
V		८					८ ८	८ ८				८ ८	८ ८	८ ८		
Ś		८		८		८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८
Sh	८	८		८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८
S	८	८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८
H	८		८		८ ८	८ ८	८ ८	८ ८		८		८		८ ८	८ ८	८ ८

ū																
	C <sub>1</sub>	C <sub>2</sub>	C <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>4</sub>	C <sub>5</sub>	C <sub>6</sub>	C <sub>7</sub>	C <sub>8</sub>	C <sub>9</sub>	C <sub>10</sub>	C <sub>11</sub>	C <sub>12</sub>	C <sub>13</sub>	C <sub>14</sub>	C <sub>15</sub>	C <sub>16</sub>
VOWEL																
K		क					ख	ख			ग	ग		घ	घ	घ
K <sub>H</sub>																
G		ग					घ	घ			घ				घ	
G <sub>H</sub>																
Ṇ																
CH				च												
CH <sub>H</sub>																
Ṭ																
Ṭ <sub>H</sub>																
Ḍ																
Ḍ <sub>H</sub>																
Ṃ																
Ṭ											र	र				



U																
	C <sub>1</sub>	C <sub>2</sub>	C <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>4</sub>	C <sub>5</sub>	C <sub>6</sub>	C <sub>7</sub>	C <sub>8</sub>	C <sub>9</sub>	C <sub>10</sub>	C <sub>11</sub>	C <sub>12</sub>	C <sub>13</sub>	C <sub>14</sub>	C <sub>15</sub>	C <sub>16</sub>
TH																
D		𑀓			𑀓		𑀓			𑀓		𑀓		𑀓		
DH					𑀓						𑀓					
N		𑀓					𑀓	𑀓			𑀓				𑀓	
P	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓		𑀓	𑀓	𑀓			𑀓	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓
PH																
B																
BH	𑀓	𑀓		𑀓	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓
M							𑀓	𑀓			𑀓	𑀓		𑀓		𑀓
Y	𑀓				𑀓				𑀓	𑀓	𑀓				𑀓	
R	𑀓				𑀓		𑀓	𑀓			𑀓	𑀓				
L							𑀓									
V								𑀓								
S					𑀓		𑀓			𑀓	𑀓					
SH	𑀓															
S	𑀓	𑀓			𑀓		𑀓	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓			𑀓	𑀓	𑀓
H		𑀓						𑀓		𑀓						𑀓

	𑀓															
	C <sub>1</sub>	C <sub>2</sub>	C <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>4</sub>	C <sub>5</sub>	C <sub>6</sub>	C <sub>7</sub>	C <sub>8</sub>	C <sub>9</sub>	C <sub>10</sub>	C <sub>11</sub>	C <sub>12</sub>	C <sub>13</sub>	C <sub>14</sub>	C <sub>15</sub>	C <sub>16</sub>
Vowel								𑀓								
K	𑀕	𑀕	𑀕		𑀕	𑀕	𑀕	𑀕	𑀕	𑀕			𑀕	𑀕	𑀕	𑀕
K <sub>H</sub>																
G	𑀧				𑀧	𑀧				𑀧					𑀧	𑀧
G <sub>H</sub>																
Ṇ																
C <sub>H</sub>																
C <sub>HH</sub>																
J																
J <sub>H</sub>																
Ṇ̄																
T																
T <sub>H</sub>																
D																
D <sub>H</sub>																
N̄																
T̄	𑀕	𑀕	𑀕			𑀕	𑀕	𑀕	𑀕	𑀕		𑀕	𑀕	𑀕	𑀕	𑀕

	Rz															
	C <sub>1</sub>	C <sub>2</sub>	C <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>4</sub>	C <sub>5</sub>	C <sub>6</sub>	C <sub>7</sub>	C <sub>8</sub>	C <sub>9</sub>	C <sub>10</sub>	C <sub>11</sub>	C <sub>12</sub>	C <sub>13</sub>	C <sub>14</sub>	C <sub>15</sub>	C <sub>16</sub>
TH																
D	ॢ				ॢ		ॢ ॢ	ॢ		ॢ		ॢ ॢ				
DH										ॢ				ॢ ॢ		
N	ॢ ॢ						ॢ ॢ			ॢ		ॢ ॢ ॢ ॢ				
P							ॢ ॢ					ॢ ॢ ॢ ॢ				
RH																
B																
BH	ॢ ॢ				ॢ		ॢ ॢ ॢ	ॢ		ॢ		ॢ				ॢ
M	ॢ ॢ	ॢ		ॢ	ॢ		ॢ							ॢ ॢ		
Y																
R																
L																
V	ॢ ॢ ॢ ॢ ॢ ॢ ॢ ॢ									ॢ ॢ				ॢ ॢ ॢ		
Ś				ॢ						ॢ						
SH																
S							ॢ			ॢ						
H	ॢ ॢ			ॢ	ॢ		ॢ	ॢ		ॢ				ॢ ॢ		



E																
	C <sub>1</sub>	C <sub>2</sub>	C <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>4</sub>	C <sub>5</sub>	C <sub>6</sub>	C <sub>7</sub>	C <sub>8</sub>	C <sub>9</sub>	C <sub>10</sub>	C <sub>11</sub>	C <sub>12</sub>	C <sub>13</sub>	C <sub>14</sub>	C <sub>15</sub>	C <sub>16</sub>
VOWEL			२		३		४	५	६	७		८	९	१०	११	१२
K	क				क		क	क		क	क	क	क	क	क	क
KH		ख								ख			ख	ख	ख	ख
G					ग	ग			ग	ग				ग		ग
GH															घ	
Ṇ																
CH					च	च			च						च	च
CHH																
J					झ	झ	झ	झ	झ	झ	झ	झ	झ	झ	झ	झ
JH																
Ṇ																
T									ट	ट						
TH											ठ					
D			ड		ड	ड										ड
DH																
N	ण	ण			ण	ण	ण	ण	ण	ण	ण	ण		ण	ण	ण
T	न				न	न	न	न	न	न	न	न			न	न

E																
	C <sub>1</sub>	C <sub>2</sub>	C <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>4</sub>	C <sub>5</sub>	C <sub>6</sub>	C <sub>7</sub>	C <sub>8</sub>	C <sub>9</sub>	C <sub>10</sub>	C <sub>11</sub>	C <sub>12</sub>	C <sub>13</sub>	C <sub>14</sub>	C <sub>15</sub>	C <sub>16</sub>
TH					व		ख									
D	द	द	द		द	द	दै	र	ट	दे	दै	द		दे	द	दे
DH	ध			त			त	त	त				त	थ	त	त
N	न	ने	न	ग	गे	न	ने	ने			ने	न	ने	न	न	न
P	प	प					पे	पे		पे	पे	प	पे	प		
PH																
B																
BH														रु	रु	
M	म	म	म	म	मे	मे	म	मे	मे	मे	मे	म	म	म	म	म
Y	य	य		य	ये	ये	य	ये	य	ये	य	ये	य	ये	य	ये
R	र	र	र		र	रे	र	र	र	र	र		र	र	र	र
L	ल	ल	ल		ले		ले	ले	ले	ले	ले		ले	ले	ले	ले
V	व	व	व		वे	व	व	वे	व	वे	व		व	व	व	व
S	श	श	श		श		श			श	श	श		श	म	मे
SH		स	के				ष			ष				स	ष	
S		स			से	से			स	ये	से	से		स	स	स
H	ह	ह	ह	ह	हे			ह		ह	ह			ह		

	A															
	C <sub>1</sub>	C <sub>2</sub>	C <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>4</sub>	C <sub>5</sub>	C <sub>6</sub>	C <sub>7</sub>	C <sub>8</sub>	C <sub>9</sub>	C <sub>10</sub>	C <sub>11</sub>	C <sub>12</sub>	C <sub>13</sub>	C <sub>14</sub>	C <sub>15</sub>	C <sub>16</sub>
Vowel																
K	क			के	कि		की	के			के	कि		के	कि	के
KH																
G				ग						न	ह					
GH										ख						
Ṇ																
CH								च								छ
CHH																
J								झ		ञ	ञ					
JH																
Ṇ																
T																
TH				ठ												
D																
DH																
N	ल	ल														
T	त			ते	ति							के	ते	ते	ते	ते



At																
	C <sub>1</sub>	C <sub>2</sub>	C <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>4</sub>	C <sub>5</sub>	C <sub>6</sub>	C <sub>7</sub>	C <sub>8</sub>	C <sub>9</sub>	C <sub>10</sub>	C <sub>11</sub>	C <sub>12</sub>	C <sub>13</sub>	C <sub>14</sub>	C <sub>15</sub>	C <sub>16</sub>
TH							त				थ					
D	द				रे		दे	रे	दे		द		दे	दे	दे	
DH					व			व								ये
N		ने	ने		ने		ने	ने			न		ने			ने
P	प				प		प		प							
PH																
B																
BH			ह		ह											
M											म					मे
Y					य		य				य		यै	यै		
R					रे			रे			रे	रे			रे	रे
L															ले	
V	व		वै	वै	वै		वै	वै	वै	वै	वै	वै	वै	वै	वै	वै
ś							ह				मे			मे	मे	
SH		से												से		
S		से			से			से		से					से	
H						ह				ह			ह	ह		

	C <sub>1</sub>	C <sub>2</sub>	C <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>4</sub>	C <sub>5</sub>	C <sub>6</sub>	C <sub>7</sub>	C <sub>8</sub>	C <sub>9</sub>	C <sub>10</sub>	C <sub>11</sub>	C <sub>12</sub>	C <sub>13</sub>	C <sub>14</sub>	C <sub>15</sub>	C <sub>16</sub>
VOWEL																
K	क	ख			गो		का	की	को	ण	को		को	को	का	को
KH																
G	गा	खा	हा	गो		गो	सो	मो	शो	मो	हो	मो	गो	भा	बा	बो
GH							ण									
N̄																
CH		र					ल				व			ल		ल
CHH																
J	झ				डा	डो	डू		रो	ठ			नो	ता	डो	
JH																
N̄																
T					टो				ट	टो	टा			ए		
TH					ठो				ठा							
D			डा		डो											
DH																
H		रा	ला		वा		लो	लो	लो	ली	लो		रा		ला	
T	मा	ना	ता		मो	तो	ला	तो		नी	ना	ती	रा	ला	तो	



	०																
	C <sub>1</sub>	C <sub>2</sub>	C <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>4</sub>	C <sub>5</sub>	C <sub>6</sub>	C <sub>7</sub>	C <sub>8</sub>	C <sub>9</sub>	C <sub>10</sub>	C <sub>11</sub>	C <sub>12</sub>	C <sub>13</sub>	C <sub>14</sub>	C <sub>15</sub>	C <sub>16</sub>	
TH							षा	षा	वी							षा	
D	य	दा	दा		दी		दो	दो			दो					दा	दो
DH							रा	रा									
N	ना	ना			नी	नी	रा	नी	वी		नी	नी	का	रा	रा	नी	
P			या				यो	यो	ए	ये	पो	पा				या	पो
PH																	
B																	
BH		दा	दा	दा	दी				दा	दी	दा	दा	दी	दी	दा	दा	दी
M		मा	मा		मी	मी	मी	मी	मी	मी	मी	मी	मी	मा	मा	मा	
Y	या	या	या		या		या	यो	यो	यो	यो	यो	यो	या	या	या	
R	रा	रा	रा		री	री	रा	री	री	री	री		री	रा	रा	री	
L	ला	ला			ली		ली	ली	ली		ली		ली	ली	ली	ली	
V	वा			वा	वी		वा	वी		वी	वी	वी	वी	वा	वा		
Ś	शा				शी		शा	शी	शा		सा	शी	की	मी	शा	मी	
SH							षा	षी		षी				षा		षी	
S		सा	सा	सा	सी	सी	सा	सी	सी	सी	सी	मी	सा	सा	सी		
H		हा	हा				दा	दी	दी	दी		दी	दी	दा	दा	दी	



PLATE 81

[illegible]

10th CENTURY A.D.

PLATE 82

[illegible]

LIGATURES																
	C <sub>1</sub>				C <sub>2</sub>				C <sub>3</sub>				C <sub>4</sub>			
K	KCHA कु	KTA कू	KRA क	KSHA कु	KTA कू	KYA कू	KLA कू	KSHA कू	KRA कू	KSHA कू	KSHA कू	KKA कू	KTA कू	KTA कू	KTA कू	
KH	KCHA कु															
G	GCHA ग	GTA गू	GTA गू	GTA गू	GTA गू	GTA गू	GTA गू	GTA गू	GTA गू	GTA गू	GTA गू	GTA गू	GTA गू	GTA गू	GTA गू	
GH																
Ṇ	ṆCHA नू	ṆTA नू			ṆCHA नू	ṆTA नू			ṆCHA नू	ṆTA नू	ṆTA नू	ṆTA नू	ṆTA नू	ṆTA नू	ṆTA नू	
CH	CHCHA चू	CHCHA चू			CHCHA चू	CHCHA चू	CHCHA चू		CHCHA चू							
CNH																
J	JCHA जू	JTA जू	JTA जू	JTA जू	JCHA जू	JTA जू	JTA जू		JCHA जू				JCHA जू			
JH																
Ṇ	ṆCHA नू	ṆTA नू			ṆCHA नू				ṆCHA नू							
T	TCHA तू				TCHA तू				TCHA तू							
TH																
D					DCHA दू											
DH																
N	NCHA नू	NTA नू	NTA नू	NTA नू	NCHA नू	NTA नू			NCHA नू	NTA नू	NTA नू		NCHA नू			
T	TCHA तू	TTA तू	TTA तू	TTA तू	TCHA तू	TTA तू	TTA तू	TTA तू	TCHA तू	TTA तू	TTA तू	TTA तू	TCHA तू	TTA तू	TTA तू	



LIGATURES																
	C <sub>1</sub>				C <sub>2</sub>				C <sub>3</sub>				C <sub>4</sub>			
TH									THYA							
D	DAHMA	DAHA	DYA	DVAM	DDHA	DANHA	DYA	DRAM	DMA	DRO	DVA		DDHA	DRA		
DM	DHYA	DHYA			DHYA	DHUKU	DHYA		DHYA				DHYA			
N	NTA	NDHA	NMA	NSA	MDA	MDHA	NMA	NSA	NTA	MDRA	NMA		MDA	NMA	NSA	
P	PTA	PPE	PYA	PRA	PTA	PYA	PRA	PLA	PRA				PRA			
BH																
B																
BH													BHRA			
M	MFA	MSHU	MMA	MYA	MMA	MPU	MMA	MVA	MVA				MFA	MMA	MMA	
Y	YFA															
R	RFA	ROHA	RMA	RVA	RFA	ROHA	ROHA	RMA	RKA	RAA	RMA	RVA	RFA	RMA	RMA	
L	LMA	LLA			LMA	LLA			LMA	LLA			LMA	LLA		
V	VFA				VFA	VFA			VFA	VFA	VFA		VFA	VFA		
S	SFA	SFA	SFA	SFA	SFA	SFA			SFA	SFA	SFA	SFA	SFA	SFA		
SH	SHFA	SHFA	SHFA	SHFA	SHFA	SHFA	SHFA	SHFA	SHFA	SHFA			SHFA	SHFA		
S	STA	SKHA	SYA	SYA	SCHA	STHA	SYA		STA	STHA	SYA	SWA	SKA	STA	STHA	SKA
H	HFA	HMA			HFA	HMA			HFA				HMA			

[illegible]



PLATE 86

LIAUTURES

C 5

C 6

C 7

C 8

TH

D

DH

N

P

PH

B

BH

M

Y

R

L

V

S

SH

S

H

DA

DAH

DAH

DMA

DMA

DAH

DAH

DVA

DAH

DMA

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LIGATURES														
	C <sub>9</sub>				C <sub>10</sub>				C <sub>11</sub>				C <sub>12</sub>	
K	KTYā	KPA	KLA	KSHA	KYā	KAC	KLA	KSHMYā	KTYā	KPA	KRA	KSHA	KTYā	KSHA
KH					KHYā				KHYā					
G	GARA				GARA	GDE	GARA	GWA	GNDHA	GNI	GARA		GARA	
GH									GHNHA					
Ṇ	ṆKA	ṆGA	ṆHA											
CH	CHKA				CHKA	CHCHHA			CHCHHA	CHCHHA			CHCHHA	
CHH														
J	JTA	JTA			JTA	JTA	JTA		JTA	JTA	JTA		JTA	
JH														
Ṇ	ṆHA													
T	TTA								TTA				TTA	
TH														
D														
DH														
N	NTA	NYA	NHA		NYA				NHA	NHA	NYA	NYA	NYA	
T	TNA	TNA	TNA	TNA	TNA	TNA	TNA		TNA	TNA	TNA	TNA	TNA	TNA

PLATE 88

LIGATURES

C<sub>9</sub>

C<sub>10</sub>

C<sub>11</sub>

C<sub>12</sub>

TH

D

DH

N

P

PH

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S I G N A T U R E S																
	C 13				C 14				C 15				C 16			
K	KU	KTA	KTYA	KSHA	KTAH	KYA	KRAH	KSHA	KKA	KTAH	KYA	KSHAH	KKA	KTA	KRA	KSHA
KH					KHYA				KHYA				KHYA			
G	GA	GA			GHA	GAH	GAH	GA	GA	GAH	GAH	GAH	GAH	GAH	GAH	GAH
GH					GHYA											
H					HA	HA			HA				HA			
CH	CHA				CHYA				CHYA	CHYA			CHYA	CHYA		
CHH																
J	JA	JA			JA	JA	JA		JA	JA			JA	JA	JA	
JH																
N					NCHA				NCHA							
T	TA				TA				TA				TA			
TH																
D																
DH																
N	NHA	NHA			NTA	NHA	NHA		NTA	NHA	NHA	NHA	NHA	NHA	NHA	
T	TRA	TMA	TYA	TAA	TJA	TMA	TMA		TMA	TMA	TJA	TMA	TMA	TMA	TMA	TMA



PLATE 90

# LIGATURES

C 13

C 14

C 15

C 16

TH

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धी

धी

D

दा दा दा

दा दा दा

दा दा दा

दा दा दा दा

DH

धा धा

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धा धा

धा धा

N

ना ना ना

ना ना ना

ना ना ना

ना ना ना ना

P

पा पा पा

पा पा पा

पा पा पा

पा पा पा पा

PH

B

BH

भा भा

भा भा

भा भा

भा भा

M

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मा मा

मा मा

मा मा

Y

या

R

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# 4

## The Age of Maturity (11th-13th Century A.D.)

Nāgarī, with fully developed top-stroke, straight vertical line, *halanta* sign, uniform medial signs and mutilated initial consonant in ligatures, is shown by Bharat Kala Bhavan Plate of Pratihāra Harirāja (A.D. 983) and Kaṭhem Plates of Chālukya Vikramāditya V (A.D. 1008). The requirements of speed and simplification had a determining role in the evolution of the Nāgarī script, as illustrated in Fig. 7. It was in use since the 11th century A.D. in the Gaṅgā Valley, Central India, Rajasthan, Gujarat, Western India and the Deccan. This is also evident from the records of the late Pratihāras, the Gāhaḍavālas of Kānyakubja, the Chandellas of Jejākabhukti, the Kalachurīs of Śarayūpāra, Tripurī and Ratanpur, the Kachchhapaghātas of Gopagiri, Dubakuṇḍa and Naravar, the Guhilas of Mevāḍa, the Chāhamānas of Sākambharī, Nāḍol, etc. and the Paramāras of Mālāva, the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa, the Śilāhāras of Koṅkaṇa and Kolhāpura, the Yādavas of Seuṇadeśa and Devagiri, the Kadambas of Goa and other royal or personal epigraphs. However, this does not mean that the Nāgarī of 11th century is identical with the Nāgarī of 20th century and thereafter, no development took place in the form of the letters. Certainly, it was the mechanization in printing technology which gave Nāgarī a modern stand-



# EVOLUTION BY SIMPLIFICATION

I	ॐ	→	ॐ	→	ॐ	→	ॐ	→	ॐ
KA	क	→	क	→	क	→	क	→	क
KHA	ख	→	ख	→	ख	→	ख	→	ख
GA	ग	→	ग	→	ग	→	ग	→	ग
JA	झ	→	झ	→	झ	→	झ	→	झ
NA	ण	→	ण	→	ण	→	ण	→	ण
TA	ट	→	ट	→	ट	→	ट	→	ट
NA	ठ	→	ठ	→	ठ	→	ठ	→	ठ
PA	प	→	प	→	प	→	प	→	प
BHA	भ	→	भ	→	भ	→	भ	→	भ
MA	म	→	म	→	म	→	म	→	म
YA	य	→	य	→	य	→	य	→	य
VA	व	→	व	→	व	→	व	→	व
SA	श	→	श	→	श	→	श	→	श

FIG. 7



ardized shape. I am, of course, not dealing with all these processes in this chapter, however, it focuses mainly on the evolution till the 13th century A.D. because by then it reached a mature stage and subsequently became stereotyped.

There are minor varieties in Nāgarī script, depending on differences in localities, period or individual hands. These varieties have been shown by dividing them into Northern and Southern,<sup>1</sup> Jaina and non-Jaina,<sup>2</sup> or Eastern and Western<sup>3</sup> by the scholars. But these divisions are rather broad and largely vague, having limitations and do not take into account the minutiae of the alphabet. In order to understand clearly the development of the Nāgarī script I have worked out the following sub-divisions:

**A. Eastern India**

I. Bihar-Bengal, II. Assam, III. Orissa

**B. Northern India**

I. The Middle Gaṅgā Valley, II. Central India, III. Rajasthan.

**C. Western India & the Deccan**

I. Gujarat, II. Maharashtra, III. Karnataka.

Under these I am mainly concerned with (i) the fully developed or archaic form of letters, (ii) the changes due to developing technology, (iii) regional and inter-regional influences on the Nāgarī script.

**Eastern India**

The influence of the proto-Nāgarī, or Nāgarī alphabet in Eastern India gradually declined from the time of Mahīpāla I (c. A.D. 988-1038).<sup>4</sup> The use of the Gauḍī alphabet begins towards the close of the 10th century A.D.<sup>5</sup> which diverges from the proto-Nāgarī type and ultimately develops into regional scripts of Assam, Bengal and Orissa. To briefly review the changes in Nāgarī characters in Eastern India we now take up these regions.

**Bihar-Bengal***11th Century A.D.*

Table D<sub>1</sub> is taken from Bihar grant of Saurāditya (A.D. 1020). This inscription bears enough traces of proto-Nāgarī or Nāgarī characters along with the local forms of several letters. As for continuation of Nāgarī, the following letters preserved their old or advanced forms: initial vowel *e*, consonants *ka*, *ga*, *gha*, *cha*, *ṭa*, *ḍa*, *ḍha*, *ta*, *da*, *dha*, *pa*, *ma*, *ya*, *la*, *va* and *ha*; besides medial signs and ligatures. Of these, the advancement towards Nāgarī is marked in the line head-mark of *ṭa*, leftward bend of *ḍa* instead of the tail, straight right vertical of *ta* and horizontally placed bar of *sha*.

On the other hand, the letters *a*, *u*, *kha*, *ja*, *ṇa*, *ṇa*, *tha*, *na*, *pha*, *bha*, *ra*, *śa*, *sa*; medials *u* and *e* are marked by certain new or local innovations. Of these, the lower curve of *a* and *u* are distinctly prolonged. These peculiarities pave the way for Bengālī forms. The open-mouthed *kha*, *bha*, *sa*; cursive *ṇa*, double curved *śa* which have been marked in the preceding inscriptions of the region now become common. The new development in *ja* is noticed in the peculiar formation of the lower curvature. The new shape of *ṇa* contains Bengālī features with double loops to the right of a hooked vertical. The upper outer loop of *tha* is detached along with a peculiar inner looped form. Looped portion of *na* further slants downwards. Like Bengālī, the upper right limb of *pha* bears an outer loop. The new innovation in *ra* is a hollow triangular foot-mark. As for medial *u*, the new local hollow triangular like shape appears with Nāgarī form. For *e* both forms, top-stroke and left perpendicular, are retained in this inscription.

The noticeable peculiarity among ligatures is the representation of a dot or circle in *ṇ* to the right top. Both subscript *chha* and *tha* contain oval shape and present confusion. The old full shaped superscribed *ṇ* appears side by side with the new Bengālī form.



## 12th Century

Table E<sub>1</sub> is taken from the Bodh-Gayā inscription of Gāhaḍavāl Jayachandra (A.D. 119X). The alphabet furnishes the incorporation of northern Nāgarī. This transformation is surely due to its belonging to a North Indian king. At the same time, the absence of tail, and notched-wedge shaped head-mark make the alphabet peculiar by which it can be distinguished from the other northern inscriptions of the same dynasty. The top-wedge is so prominent that it merges with superscript *r*. In such type of formation, certainly, the broader edged pens play an important role, from which inscriptions of the region were written.

Besides tail and wedge, the local influence is marked in the letters *u*, *ta*, *sa*; and medials *e*, *u*. The peculiar curvature of *u*, as it appears in the preceding period, becomes the common feature of the region. The right top of *ta* bears a small tick. As for *sa*, it furnishes tailed Nāgarī form along with a new form. In the new variety, left loop distinctly become triangular. The distinguishing features of medial *u* shows a local wedged vertical shape as in the preceding inscriptions. In the case of initial *e*, with both earlier perpendicular and top-stroke forms, a new sign is met with which is denoted by a falling tick to the left of the letter. The letter *kha* and *ha* are also of distinctive varieties. The left limb of *kha* shows a triangle like foot-mark, as in other eastern inscriptions, in the place of northern tailed shape. In *ha* tail has disappeared.

Rest of the letters assume developed modern Nāgarī counterparts. Of these, peculiarities may be noticed in the forms of *ja*, *ṇa*, *dha* and *bha*. The right limb of *ja* takes vertical shape. Middle bar of *ṇa* bends to left. An advanced form of *dha* occurs in this inscription. The new innovation is the addition of an oblique stroke in the upper portion. The letter *bha* is of transitional variety with right straight vertical.

## 13th Century

Table F<sub>1</sub> is derived from Gayā inscriptions of Sultan Muizzuddin (A.D. 1200) and Balban (A.D. 1268). These epigraphs reveal advanced forms



of northern Nāgarī alphabet which indicates that, with the expansion of the Muslim rule, northern Nāgarī spread to the eastern region, the most remarkable development of which is the occurrence of modern looking forms of the letters *ja* and *bha*, while other inscriptions of earlier or current period show only their progressive features. As for other letters, they are found to be fully developed to approach their modern counterparts. Ligatures are in Nāgarī style excepting for the use of two armed superscribed *ḍ* and peculiar tailless *s*. Medial *e* retains left slanting top-stroke, however, in some cases left vertical form are also employed. It can also be noticed in medial *o*. All other medial signs are in fully developed Nāgarī shapes.

One notable point about these inscriptions is their relationship with Muslim rulers. Definitely, it was the force of tradition and popularity of Nāgarī in that period which compelled Muslim rulers to use it side by side with their own script. This is further evident from the accommodation of Nāgarī alphabet on Muslim coins. As for example: Mohammed of Ghaznā (A.D. 1027), Mohammed Bin Sam (A.D. 1193-1206), Mohammed Bin Mohammed (A.D. 1206), Shamsu-d-din Iltutmish (A.D. 1210-35), Ruknu-d-din Firuz Shah (A.D. 1235), Raziyya (1236-40), Muizzu-d-din Baharam Shah (A.D. 1240-42), Alau-d-din Masud Shah (A.D. 1242-46), Nasiru-d-din Mohammed (A.D. 1246-66), Ghiyasu-d-din Balban (A.D. 1266-87), Muizzu-d-din Kaikubad (A.D. 1287-90), Jalalu-d-din Firuz (A.D. 1290-96), Alau-d-din Mohammed Shah (A.D. 1296-1316) and others employed Nāgarī for writing legends on their coins.<sup>6</sup>

### Assam

The script of Assam was influenced by proto-Nāgarī in the preceding periods, which eventually diverges in this period and shows the same process of development as does Bengālī. However, the script of Assam has retained some distinctive characteristics.

### 11th Century

The peculiarities of the Assamese alphabet are shown in Table D<sub>2</sub>; they are taken from Gauhātī and Guākuchi Grants of Indrapāla (A.D. 980-1010). The tail of the letters is sharply bent to the right and head-mark

are in solid triangular or line form. In the vowels only *a*, *i*, *u* and *e* are to be found. The left curve of *a* is prolonged in eastern style and right vertical shows a foot-mark. *I* shows a double-curved shape above two circles. The left curve of *u* further extends to the top-mark; and *e* opens to the left as in eastern style.

Among consonants, most of the letters are represented in their old or developed Nāgarī characters in the formation of which effects of the local hand are clearly marked. Only some distinction occurs from the usual northern Nāgarī in the letters *kha*, *cha*, *ḍa*, *ṇa*, *tha*, *bha*, *ra*, *śa* and *sa*. *Kha* shows a peculiar variety. The breadth of *cha* is broader. A new innovation in *ḍa* is seen in the replacing of left curve by slanting stroke. The cursive *ṇa*, upper left-curve detached *tha*, open-mouthed *bha* and *sa*, double curved *śa*, which occur in the preceding period, become more frequent now. *Ra* furnishes a peculiar tail or hollow triangular loop in the lower portion. In later period hollow triangular with a slanted dividing line in the middle becomes the standard form of the letter *ra*. It is certainly the shape of *ra* and *va* on which basis Bengālī and Assamese can be discriminated.<sup>7</sup>

Among ligatures, superscribed *ñ* shows the use of a dot as in Nāgarī. The local influence is marked in the leftward double curved form of superscribed *ñ*, double curved with a tick form of *ṭ*, cursive *ṇ* and hooked form of *th*. The curly Nāgarī form of superscript *r* is noticeable. Medials *u*, *e*, *ai*, *o* and *au* represent more than one form in which local features gain more currency. In the local variety, medial *u* is formed by triangular, or rightward hooked shape. In the formation of medials, *e*, *ai*, *o* and *au* a tendency of extending the head-mark to left and curving it in a sort of hook is noteworthy.

### 12th Century

The further deterioration of Nāgarī features and evolution of local script is evident from the illustration shown in Table E<sub>2</sub> which has been taken from the Khonāmukh Plates of Dharmapāla. The influence of Nāgarī



characters retained in some letters in forming which too local style is more apparent. Notable new innovation in initial *a* is seen in the formation of a knob in the left curve. Leftward opened *e* peculiarly curves its left extension. In the formation of medial signs, the local forms, which previously occurs, frequently employed in this period and developing in the same direction. On the whole, the alphabet of this inscription reveals a transmutation of Nāgarī into proto-Assamese or Assamese.

### Orissa

The general observation on Eastern Indian alphabets apparently shows more divergence in the Orissa region's script from Northern Nāgarī than the script of Bengal or Assam. The distinctive writing objects and the writing techniques of the region are mainly responsible in the peculiar transformation which makes the letter more cursive. In course of time, curvature of the letters became prominent and ultimately prepared the way for the development of the Oriyā script. Kunjabihari Tripathi believes: "Though the Oriyā alphabet is mainly affiliated to proto-Bengālī, the influence of the Nāgarī is also noticed in early Oriyā inscriptions."<sup>8</sup>

### 11th Century

Mahulpara plates of Somavamśī king Mahāśivagupta—Dharmarath and Naḍagām plates of Gaṅga Vajrahasta are selected and illustrated in Tables D<sub>3</sub> and D<sub>4</sub> for study. Palaeographically, both inscriptions differ in some respects, but at the same time they represent assertive local influence on the writing. The new development in initial vowels occur in the shapes of *a*, *ā*, *i* and *e*. *A* of Table D<sub>3</sub> shows the same process of development as in Bengal inscriptions. Table D<sub>4</sub> shows somewhat different mode in which left curve opens downwards with horizontally extended extremities. The shape of long *ā* is also peculiar. It presents a feature from which modern Oriyā form emerges later on. *I* is shaped as a line mark above the two circles in Table D<sub>3</sub>. Table D<sub>4</sub> shows a curved shape in place of line mark. *E* is of open-mouthed variety in which both left arms become horizontally parallel.

However, consonants *ka*, *ja*, *ḍa*, *ta*, *da*, *dha*, *ma* and *ha* preserve



Nāgarī counterparts. All of these retain old shape. There is nothing noteworthy from the viewpoint of development. Only one point worthy of attention is the straight formation of right vertical in *ja*. Other letters mark the evolution towards local scripts. In Table D<sub>3</sub>, the reminiscent hollow triangular shape appears in the left limb of the letters *kha*, *ga* and *śa*. The hollow-triangle shape is opened in Table D<sub>4</sub>. The breadth of *cha* is broader in Table D<sub>3</sub>. *ṭa* retains archaic double curved shape with right tick. *Ṇa* extends its right vertical upwards. The letter *tha* is marked by new innovation in which the upper loop is transformed into a hook and base becomes sloppy. The left arm of the letters *pa*, *pha*, *ya* and *sha* is bent in the middle. *Pha* attains Oriyā counterpart. Lower extremity of *bha* extends towards the left instead of the right. The base of *va* is slanted to meet with the right vertical at the end.

Among ligatures, superscript *ñ* contains a small circle to the right. Superscribed *ñ* is of local type. In medial vowels local forms gain more currency. Of them, a new innovation is marked in *u* and *ū*. In the new form of *u* a rightward hook is drawn to the bottom of the letter; *ū* is formed by extending the lower limb and looks like medial *ṛi*.

### *12th Century*

The further termination of Nāgarī influence is marked by Bhuvaneśvara inscription of Svapneśvara, shown in Table E<sub>3</sub>. The alphabet of this inscription reveals a developmental process of the local script. In this, the most remarkable transformation is noticed in *a* initial. *Ṭha* retains old circular shape. This shape still continues in Oriyā.

### **General Remarks**

The above observations attest that the Nāgarī features were losing hold in Eastern India during 11th-12th centuries; and the local scripts, namely Bengālī, Assamesa, Oriyā, etc., were emerging from it.

### **Northern India**

This vast region was divided into several local states during the period,

which maintain distinguished calligraphic peculiarities. In order to understand clearly the development with distinctive characteristics northern Nāgarī may be assorted into three groups: I. The Middle Gaṅgā Valley, II. Central India and III. Rajasthan. But it is difficult to fix the exact limit of one type of writing because there are overlappings due to socio-political reasons.

### The Middle Gaṅgā Valley

#### 11th Century

Table D<sub>5</sub> is taken from Goharwa plates of Kalachurī Kaṇa (A.D. 1041-73) and Table D<sub>6</sub> from Chandrāvati plates of Gāhaḍavāla Chandradeva (A.D. 1093 and 1099). Among initial vowels, the peculiarities of the region which reflect from these inscriptions are noticed in *a* and *i*. In *a*, the lower limb of the left curve prolongs upward and the upper joining bar disappears, or shortens. Table D<sub>5</sub> shows a new innovation in *i* of which curve and circles are substituted by a line. It may be identified as the first progenitor of its modern counterpart. In this period, such type of development only occurs in this region. Other initial vowels, *ā* and *u* resemble modern Nāgarī in forms and *e* curves its left limb.

Among consonants, the distinctive letters are *cha*, *bha* and *śa*. The upper left limb of *cha* detaches from the right vertical and prolongs upwards. *Bha* shows only transitional phase with right vertical. The outer looped or hooked *śa* develops to attain the modern counterpart, while in other regions old forms of these letters are more common.

In other letters, right limb of *ka* extends to right, *kha* and *ga* resemble modern counterparts. The left curve of *gha* moves up. A fully developed form of it can be seen in *ghā* of Goharwa plates. *Chha* presents developing process by placing loops one upon the other. *Dha* is yet to develop upper oblique shape. The right appendage of *pha* starts from middle portion in modern style, only differing by right hooked shape instead of modern curvature. *Sha* slants its middle bar. However, rest of the letters approach fully developed shapes.



Among ligatures, superscript *gh* is of developed variety, subscript *chha* retains oval shape and *tha* is of peculiar double-looped variety. Table D<sub>6</sub> reveals an unusual peculiar shape of *śra* and superscribed *s* retains open-mouthed feature.

In medial signs, only the cursive variety is employed for *u*, right limb of long *ū* prolongs in modern style. *Ṛi* in *hṛi* is attached to the outer curve while in eastern region joins with the tail.

### 12th Century

The further developments are shown in Tables E<sub>4</sub> and E<sub>5</sub>; taken from Kamauli plate of Gahadavala Govindachandra (A.D. 1126) and Mahobā plates of Chandella Paramardideva (A.D. 1173). These inscriptions reveal developed Nāgarī characters in which only the development is required in the letters, *i*, *cha*, *chha*, *ja*, *dha* and *bha*. Of these, the initial *i* shows the transitional form of the letter. *Cha* occurring in the Kamauli plate is of old beaked variety. Table E<sub>5</sub> represents a new innovation by flattening the upper left curve. Only the protrusive bar is needed to develop into the modern form. *Chha* is in archaic oval, or double-looped variety. The right limb of *ja* becomes almost a straight vertical but upper stroke is yet to coalesce with the lower one to make a single line. *Dha* shows primitive stage of development by adding an oblique stroke at the upper angle. The left limb of *bha* still shows an extension towards down instead of modern upward prolongation.

In ligatures, the modern form of superscript *ñ* is met with in Table E<sub>5</sub> and *th* also is of modern type. The medial signs are in Nāgarī form except *e* which optionally retains the left vertical form.

### 13th Century

Table F<sub>2</sub> is taken from Ajayagaḍh inscription of Nāna (A.D. 1288). Nāna was the minister of the Chandella Bhojavarmā. In consequence, the inscription follows Chandella style of ornamental and bold writing. A further development is marked in initial *i* which has taken almost modern shape. *Cha* and *ja* are still to develop. *Dha* presents the developing process



by bending the oblique into a curve. The right appendage of *pha* still is in old looped form with a slanted stroke, while in other inscriptions attains modern curly features. The left limb of *bha* is falling down. *Śa* represents a distinctive feature, denoted by a looped hook with slanting bar to the left of the vertical line. In ligatures, *ṛ* is of old two armed variety without dot. Medial *e* still retains perpendicular shape. In the top-stroke form of it the ornamentation can be seen.

### Central India

#### 11th Century

The Rājapura plates of Nāgavarṃśī Madhurāntakadeva (A.D. 1065) and Sās-Bahū Temple inscription of Kachchhapaghāta Mahīpāla (A.D. 1093) have been selected to study the development of Nāgarī script in Central India. These are respectively illustrated in Tables D<sub>7</sub> and D<sub>8</sub>. The initial *a* of these inscriptions differs from that found in the Middle Gaṅgā Valley in which the left curve joins the head-mark. It differs from Western Indian *a* in having an additional lower slant in the vertical. Initial *i* shows developing process. A rare long *ī* occurs in Sās-Bahū inscription which is formed by a head-mark, a vertically curved line coming down from it and a horizontal curve with one circle on either side below. The left limb of *e* is denoted by a curve as in the Middle Gangetic region. The triangular variety of foot-mark is retained in the Rājapura inscription but it is developed in tailed form in the later Sās-Bahū inscription. The left notched portion of *gha* is still horizontally placed. *Cha* retains beaked shape and *Chha* is of oval variety. *Dha* is yet to develop the oblique stroke of upper angle. Table D<sub>7</sub> shows archaic open-mouthed *bha*; but it occurs in transitional phase in Table D<sub>8</sub>. *Śa* presents old inner looped form, while in the Middle Gaṅgā Valley it has taken the form of its modern counterpart. The noticeable point in ligature is the disappearance of the dot in the superscript *ṛ*. While in the eastern region it always contains a dot in the right portion. The medial signs are usual as in the Middle Gaṅgā Valley.

#### 12th Century

The further development in Central Indian Nāgarī script is marked by

a number of inscriptions. We have selected Sarakho plates of Kalachurī Ratnadeva II (A.D. 1128), Māllār inscription of Kalachurī Jājalladeva II (A.D. 1167), Sihāvā inscription of Kākaira Kaṇṇarāja (A.D. 1192), Bhopāl plates of Udayavarmā (A.D. 1199) and sequentially illustrated them in Tables E<sub>6</sub>, E<sub>7</sub>, E<sub>8</sub>, & E<sub>9</sub>.

Among initial vowels, *a* is found in different varieties. Table E<sub>6</sub> shows a shape which is similar to that found in Goharva Plates (D<sub>5</sub>) of previous century. In Table E<sub>7</sub> it occurs in fully developed northern variety. Table E<sub>9</sub> furnishes a peculiar type of it which is shaped as a double curve to the left of the vertical line, without a joining stroke. It becomes further more peculiar in *ā*, where upper curve prolongs to the vertical. Perhaps this formation is due to cursive or rapid hand writing. Initial *i* of Kalachurī inscriptions represents a transitional phase of the letter as we find in the Middle Gaṅgā Valley, while in Bhopāl inscription it is of the old variety. Rare long *ī* occurs in Table E<sub>6</sub>, formed by adding an additional slanting stroke on the top of *i* (cf., Pls. 127 & 125). An archaic triangular form of *e* is met in Sarakho Plates (Table E<sub>6</sub>). Other initials, *u*, *ū* and *ai* resemble their corresponding letters in modern Nāgarī.

Among consonants, most of the letters have taken the shape of modern Nāgarī counterparts. The development is lacking only in letters *cha*, *ja*, *pha*, *ba* and *bha*. In upper horizontal arm of *cha* a leftward protrusive stroke is yet to develop. Both right limbs of *ja* are still formed separately. The right appendage of *pha* is of hook shape. *Bha* retains its lower extension in left arm. A peculiar form for *ba* occurs in Table E<sub>6</sub> which has a tail at the left of the square and prolongation of the right vertical.

As for development, the most remarkable letters are *chha*, *ṇa* and *dha*. *Chha* in E<sub>9</sub> presents modern features by placing the loops one upon the other in which only the separation in upper tailed portion is needed. In Table E<sub>8</sub> *ṇa* shows a new innovation by curving its left arm as in the modern style. The analogous Nāgarī type of *dha* occurs in Table E<sub>8</sub> and E<sub>9</sub>.

In ligatures, superscript *ph* of Table E<sub>7</sub> shows modern features while



subscript *tha* is of old double-looped variety. Medials are in modern Nāgarī shapes. The only exception is noticed in the vertical form of *e*.

### 13th Century

Table F<sub>3</sub> is taken from Kūreṭhā Plate of Pratīhāra Malayavarmā (A.D. 1220). This inscription denotes further development in Nāgarī script of which almost all letters attain their modern counterparts. Development is needed only in initial *i*, *ja*, *dha* and *bha*. *I* shows of peculiar variety (Pl. 153, F<sub>3</sub>). The right limb of *ja* is yet to become a single vertical. *Dha* loses its upper top-mark and left arm of *bha* is still falling downwards. The remarkable development which draws attention is the modern shape of *cha*. As for the medial vowels, only the top-stroke form of *e* occurs in this inscription. In it a new innovation is marked in forming a circle at the upper extremity. But perpendicular form is maintained in *ai* and *au*.

### Rajasthan

#### 11th Century

For the study of 11th century alphabets in Rajasthan area the Banswārā Plates of Paramāra Bhojadeva (A.D. 1019) and Kadmāl Plates of Guhil Vijayasimha (A.D. 1083) are selected and illustrated in Tables D<sub>9</sub> and D<sub>10</sub>. Kadmāl Plates which belong to later period display more advanced forms of the alphabet than Banswārā Plates. Among initial vowels two letters, i.e. *i* and *e*, draw attention. Of these *i* is of archaic form with two circles and one curve below. In *e* new innovation is marked in the formation of left limb in a single stroke. This is the real base of modern Nāgarī *e*. Other initial vowels *a*, *ā*, *u* and *ū* also occur in their fully developed form.

Among consonants, the left limb of *kha*, *ga* and *śa* show a triangular loop in Table D<sub>9</sub> whereas it develops into modern rounded form in *ga* and tailed shape in *kha* and *śa* in Table D<sub>10</sub>. In Table D<sub>10</sub> *gha* occurs in fully developed Nāgarī form and *ja* denotes a peculiar form which looks like initial *ū*. In *dha* of Kadmāl Plates a new innovation is marked in the formation of an oblique stroke at the upper angle, while other inscriptions



of the period do not comprise such type of development. In Table D<sub>9</sub>, *pha* retains loop with a stroke at right as appendage, *bha* is of open-mouthed variety and *śa* is of inner looped type. In Table D<sub>10</sub> the right appendage of *pha* is in modern cursive form, *bha* is of transitional variety and *śa* is of modern type. The rest of the letters attain their fully developed form. Ligatures and medial vowels are usual as in other parts of Northern India.

### 12th Century

The further development in Nāgarī script is illustrated in Tables E<sub>10</sub> and E<sub>11</sub> which have been derived from Pāldī inscription of Guhila Arisimha (A.D. 1116) and Nāḍol inscription of Chāhamāna Kīrtipāla (A.D. 1161). Of these inscriptions Pāldī inscription is earlier. In the consequence, Nāḍol inscription furnishes more developed form than Pāldī inscription. The peculiarities in initial vowels are marked in *i*, *ī*, *u*, *e* and *ai*. Of these *i* retains older form till now in this region, while in other regions it presents transitional phase. *ī* is formed by a hook, a circle and a horizontal top-line. In *ū* an additional hook is added in the lower extremity of *u* instead of modern cursive middle attachment. Pāldī inscription presents an old triangular form for *e*, whereas it occurs in modern form in Nāḍol inscription. *Ai* also shows modern feature.

Among consonants, most of the letters resemble their counterparts in modern Nāgarī. Only the forms of *cha*, *ja*, *dha*, *pha* and *bha* are yet to develop. Like other inscriptions of the period these letters denote their developing process. In ligatures, superscript *ṇ* is still without a dot and *ṇ* resembles the letter in modern Nāgarī. Superscript *ś* is to be found in old as well as new type. Subscript *tha* is of archaic oval variety.

### 13th Century

Table F<sub>4</sub> is taken from Māndhātā Plates of Paramāra Jayasimha-Jayavarmā (A.D. 1274) and Table F<sub>5</sub> is derived from Kavālī Temple inscription of Chāhamāna Hammīr (A.D. 1288). These inscriptions mark further progress in Nāgarī script. Development is required only in letters *cha* and

*bha*. As for *cha* its upper left protrusive is yet to develop. In *bha*, the left portion is still falling downwards.

Among the initial vowels the lower curve of *a* prolongs upward. The reminiscent form of *i* occurs in the Chāhamān inscription. Rare initial *ṛi* occurs in Māndhātā Plates which is of transitional variety. *Au* retains its archaic shape. As for the consonants, medial and ligatures, they approach the form in modern Nāgarī.

### Western India and the Deccan

The scribes of western India and the Deccan had their own style of writing which diverges from the northern Nāgarī in its appearances as well as in the special forms employed for some letters. This is called Nandi-Nāgarī. A.C. Burnell<sup>9</sup> suggests that Nandi-Nāgarī is directly derived from the North Indian Nāgarī in about eleventh century A.D. In the same way recorders of Jaina-sect had their own individuality which is known by the name of Jaina-Nāgarī. The peculiarities of these two variant forms of Nāgarī may be understood best by the help of Fig. 8. Besides the usual form of Nāgarī was also in circulation.

#### Gujarat

##### 11th Century

Table D<sub>11</sub> is taken from Paliād and Bhadreśvar Plates of Chālukya Bhimadeva I to represent the Nāgarī alphabet of Gujarat region. There are some peculiarities which draw attention. Both curves of initial *a* are detached from the right vertical. *l* retains its old feature. *E* has a slanting stroke in the left and a bar in the right in modern style, like Kadmāl inscription of Guhila king (D<sub>10</sub>).

In consonants, the notable letters are *ga*, *gha*, *cha*, *ja*, *ḍa*, *ṇa*, *dha*, *pha*, *bha*, *la* and *śa*. Of these, *ga* presents modern as well as triangular form in the left limb. Left notched portion of *gha* is still to take vertical position. *Cha* retains its beaked shape. In *ja* left portion is formed by a single stroke and right curve separately joins in the place of straight



# **SPECIMENS OF NĀGARĪ JAINA-NĀGARĪ AND NANDI-NĀGARĪ**

NAGARĪ	अ	आ	इ	ई	उ	ऊ	अ	ए	ऐ	ओ	औ	क	ख	ग	घ
JAINA-NĀGARĪ	अ	आ	इ	ई	उ	ऊ	क	ए	ऐ	उ	अ	क	ख	ग	घ
NANDI-NĀGARĪ	अ	आ	इ		उ		ऊ	ए	ऐ	उ		क	ख	ग	घ

NĀGARĪ	ड	च	ढ	ज	झ	अ	ट	ठ	ड	ढ	ण	त	थ	द	ध
JAINA-NĀGARĪ	ड	च	ढ	ऊ	ऊ	अ	ट	ठ	ऊ	ढ	ण	त	थ	द	ध
NANDI-NĀGARĪ	ड	च	ढ	ऊ			ट	ठ	उ	ढ	ण	त	थ	द	ध

NAGARĪ	न	प	फ	ब	भ	म	य	र	ल	व	श	ष	स	ह
JAINA-NAGARĪ	न	प	फ	ब	भ	म	य	र	ल	व	श	ष	स	ह
NANDI-NĀGARĪ	न	प	फ	ब	भ	म	य	र	ल	व	श	ष	स	ह

FIG.8



formation of right vertical. *Ḍa* presents transitional phase while in other regions it has attained its modern shape. *Ṇa* shows cursive form of top as in the inscriptions of Eastern India. *Dha* is yet to develop its upper oblique. The right appendage of the letter *pha* shows curve with slanted stroke in northern style, while in Maharashtra and eastern region looped form is more common. The old open-mouthed form of *bha* remains in this region. In *la* left curve sharply bends inwards. As for *śa* double looped form is more common in which upper loop is circular and lower one triangular. Along with this the old cursive-topped and modern outer looped forms are also in use in this region.

In ligatures, subscript *chha* and *tha* are of oval type. *D* of *dvaṁ* is in two armed shape. Superscript *ś* and *s* are met in old as well as in modern forms.

### 12th Century

To mark the development of the alphabet in Gujarat during 12th Cent. A.D. the Verāval inscription of Chālukya Bhīma II has been selected and illustrated in Table E<sub>12</sub>. This inscription represents further development in Nāgarī script from earlier century. Among initial vowels, *a*, *u*, *e* show fully developed features. The letter *cha* of *chā* is in modern shape. *Chha* represents transitional phase by placing both the loops of the letter one upon the other. The top of the letter *ṇa* is flat. *Dha* with its upper oblique stroke represents the process of development. But the left notch of *gha* is still placed horizontally. Right limb of *ja* is yet to take the form of single vertical line. The form of *bha* is yet to develop. Other consonants resemble the letters in modern Nāgarī. Among medial vowels, the peculiarity may be noticed only in the formation of the left perpendicular type of *e*.

### 13th Century

Table F<sub>6</sub> is taken from the Verāval inscription of Chālukya-Vaghel King Arjuna (A.D. 1264). This inscription records further development in the Nāgarī script. Initial *i* has taken fully developed shape. The letters *gha* and *dha* have almost taken their modern shapes. But *cha* in this region

is still of beaked variety. *Chha* is of peculiar oval variety with slanted cross bar of tail. The right limb of *ja* is yet to take single vertical form. *Bha* denotes its transitional phase. In ligature *bdha*, the use of the old square form of *b* can be seen. Like earlier inscriptions of the region, this inscription also represents more frequent use of the vertical form of *e*.

## Maharashtra

### 11th Century

I have selected Kauṭhem Plates of Chālukya Vikramāditya V (A.D. 1008), Kalas-Budrukh Plates of Yādava Bhīllam III (A.D. 1026), Bhaṇḍup Plates of Śīlāhāra Chhittarāja (A.D. 1026), Kharepāṭaṇ Plates of Śīlāhāra Anantadeva I (A.D. 1094) and illustrated them in Table D<sub>12</sub>, D<sub>13</sub>, D<sub>14</sub> and D<sub>15</sub> respectively. These inscriptions show some peculiarities of the region. They also show some differences among themselves which may be due to these inscriptions belonging to different dynasties who had their own cultural gravity. Of that sequel distinction in the inscriptions are discernible.

Kauṭhem Plates of Chālukya king Vikramāditya V represent the developed form of Western or southern Nāgarī (D<sub>12</sub>). Initial *a* is found in fully developed western or southern variety. The left portion of it is formed by two curves which are joined by a horizontal bar with the right vertical. *I* persists with its old shape. In the formation of *e*, the influence of northern regions is clearly marked in which the right limb is formed by a single stroke which is unlike the *e* found in Gujarat region. Rare *au* shows its old features. In consonants, left limb of the letters *kha*, *ga* and *śa* are marked with a triangular formation. Left notch of *gha* is placed horizontally. *Cha* retains beaked form. The forms of *chha* and *pha* are almost same. Both letters furnish a tailed inner loop in the right portion. The letters *na* and *ta* show modern features side by side with the old cursive shape. The upper horn of *dha* is yet to develop. *Na* retains old curved shape. The archaic form of *bha* denotes a tail in the left limb. *Śa* is also of old inner looped variety.

Table D<sub>13</sub>, which has been taken from Kalas-Budrukh Plates of Yādava Bhīllan III, shows the northern form of *a* without lower stroke,



progressing feature of *i*, tailed *kha*, flat-topped *ṇa* and vertical form of *na*. Both forms of *bha*, archaic open-mouthed and transitional, occur in this inscription. But triangular type of left limb remains in *ga* and *śa*. Left curves of *gha* are horizontally placed. *Pha* like Kauṭhem Plates shows an inner loop in the right limb. And *śa* is also of old inner looped or flat-topped variety.

The lower extremity of the letters in Śilāhāra inscription is bent to the right. Initial *i* of both inscriptions present only old features of the letter. The left limb of *kha* bends to left in cursive or straight form in place of developed tail or archaic triangle shape. The left limb of *ga* also develops in the same direction. Rare *jha* occurs in both inscriptions. *ṭha* of *ṭhā* in Table D<sub>15</sub> presents the features of the letter as found in Jaina-Nāgarī. The top of *ṇa* is cursive. Table D<sub>14</sub> which has been taken from an earlier inscription of this century furnishes only the curved form of *ta* and *na*, old type of cursive or flat-topped *śa* while later Kharepāṭaṇ plates (Table D<sub>15</sub>) denote their well developed shape. *Dha* of this region is still without upper horn. The letter *pha* differs from the inscriptions of the same region by its outer curve of the right limb in place of inner loop. *Bha* presents only its transitional phase in which right arm is in curved shape instead of a vertical line.

Among ligature, superscribed *gh* in Table D<sub>15</sub> denotes its modern shape. Subscript *chha* is of oval variety. Optionally letter *s* retains old open-mouthed shape. The medial vowels are usual as in that period.

### 12th Century

Kolhāpur Plates of Śilāhāra Gaṇḍarāditya (A.D. 1126) and Kolhāpur inscription of Śilāhāra Bhoja II (1190-93) are selected and illustrated in Table E<sub>13</sub> & E<sub>14</sub> to represent the development in Nāgarī script in 12th century A.D. The new innovations which draw our attention are found in letters *kha*, *gha*, *cha*, *ṇa*, *dha*, *ba*, *bha*, *śa*. The left limb of *kha* develops into tailed shape as in northern inscriptions. The notched portion of *gha* prolapse to left and are placed vertically. *Cha* flattens its upper limb in



which only the protrusive stroke is wanted. The top of *ṇa* becomes flat as in northern inscriptions. *Dha* develops an oblique stroke in the upper portion. A distinct sign for *ba* occurs in Table E<sub>14</sub> which is shaped with double loops to the left of a vertical line. The right limb of *bha* becomes vertical. *Śa* with outer loop denotes the modern phase of the letter.

On the whole, these inscriptions furnish developed form of the letters in which the development is required only in the letters *cha*, *ja*, *dha*, *ba* and *bha*. Of these, left curve of *ja* is shorter than other inscriptions.

### 13th Century

Table F<sub>7</sub> is taken from Kālegāon plates of Yādava Mahādeva (A.D. 1260). This inscription apprises of further development in Nāgarī script. As for initial vowels *a*, *ā* and *e* are of fully developed variety. Initial *ṛi* also completes the way of developed in which only the lower hook still remains to develop. Initial vowels *i*, *u* and consonant *chha* denote peculiarities which resemble the corresponding letters in Jaina-Nāgarī. The breadth of *ja* is broader as in Jaina-Nāgarī. The most remarkable development which occurs in this inscription is the use of advanced and modern form of *ba*, while in other regions the letter is generally represented by the sign of *va*. Left vertical slant of *bha* prolongs upward, which shows that it is still in the process of developing into the modern shape. The development requires only in *cha*, *ja* and *bha*.

In ligatures, modern form of *ñ* occurs in this inscription. Superscript *ṇ* is formed by a single stroke as in modern western style. Medial vowels display modern shapes along with the usual both forms of *e*, *ai*, *o* and *au* of the period. In such type of formation top-stroke form of *e* is more common.

### Karnataka

#### 11th Century

Table D<sub>16</sub> is taken from Ittagi Plates of Kadamba Jayakeśi I (A.D. 1062) to represent the Nāgarī script of the region. In place of western double curved form of initial *a*, here we find the use of northern shape

with prolonged outer curves from the left vertical. With two arms above the two circles the initial *i* appears in developing process. Here we find developed forms of *kha*, *ṇa*, *bha* and *śa* in the place of old features of Maharashtra region. Side by side with the developing horned form *dha* old shape also persists. The right appendage of *pha* joins the top instead of being joined in the middle of the vertical as in modern Nāgarī. The archaic form of open-mouthed *sa* also survives along with the developed shape. In the ligatures archaism can be noticed in cursive *ṇa*, flat or round-topped *ś* and oval form of *chha* and *tha*. Medials are as usual.

### 12th Century

Asoge Plates of Kadamba Jayakeśin II (A.D. 1133) and Nīlgunda Plates of Chālukya Vikramāditya VI (A.D. 1087 & 1123) are selected and illustrated in Tables E<sub>15</sub> and E<sub>16</sub> for the alphabets of 12th century in Karnataka. These inscriptions represent developed form of the letters. Initial vowel *i* presents its transitional feature. *Ai* is formed by adding a top-stroke of *e* medial in the initial *e*. Rare initial *au* looks like topless *a*. The tailless or bulgy form of *e* display archaism. The advanced and modern form of *cha* occurs in Asoge Plates, while in other inscriptions of the period it is in old beaked or transitional broader shape. A new innovation may be marked in *sha* in which cross-bar is placed horizontally in straight line form (Pl. 122). Among the consonants development is yet to be recorded in *gha*, *ja*, *dha*, *pha* and *bha*.

Among ligatures, the peculiar form of *ksha*, dotted *ṇ*, oval *chha* are noteworthy (Pl. 149). The most notable peculiarity among the medial vowels is the frequent use of perpendicular type of *e*.

The concluding phrase *śri-Śāradāyai namaḥ* of Nīlgunda Plates is written in Śāradā alphabet, a feature which is probably due to the fact that the scribe, Mallaya, hailed from Kashmir.

### 13th Century

Table F<sub>8</sub> is derived from the Copper plate grants of Hoysala Viraballāla II (A.D. 1204). R.S. Panchamukhi remarks about the palaeography that, "the inscription is written in the Nāgarī alphabet which furnishes one



of the earliest specimens of the Nandi-Nāgarī that subsequently became the ruling alphabet of the Vijayanagara period."<sup>10</sup>

The letters of Nandi-Nāgarī become compact and consequently diverges from corresponding Nāgarī characters. Calligraphically, the new alphabet is not as much appealing as Nāgarī. As for individual letters, the lower extremity of the outer curves in *a* and *u* are bent downwards and *e* retains tailless old feature. *Gha* places its notched shape horizontally. However, the left limb of *cha* is in triangular looped shape. The lower curve of *ja* is shortened and bends down. *Ḍa* presents two forms of the letter, one looks like initial *u* and other denotes usual Nāgarī shape with the difference of less prolongation in lower extremity. Left arm of *ṇa* is straight and its three arms are approximately equal. The head-mark of *tha* disappears and upper left limb is detached from the right vertical. The upper portion of *dha* is formed by two strokes arranging in notched shape. The left looped portion of *na* is slanted. Right appendage of *pha* starts from the head-mark. Advanced and modern looking form for *ba* occurs in this inscription. *Ra* looks somewhat like old and is of slanted foot-marked variety. The joining bar of the letter *la* is notched and the outer curve bends sharply inwards which sometimes becomes looped. Among ligatures, subscribed *chha* retains oval shape and *ya* of *dhyā* shows peculiarity.

In the formation of medial vowels some peculiarities are noticeable. Medial *ā*, *i*, *ī* are denoted by fully extended line side by side with short line. *U* bends its extremity down. A peculiar shape for medial *u* appears in *ru* which is formed by a rightward stroke. An additional leftward stroke is added in the form of *u* to make it long *ū*. This shape becomes the peculiarity of Nandi-Nāgarī. The rightward stroke form for *ṛi* occurs in this inscription which becomes common in Nandi-Nāgarī. Medial *e* and *o* are represented by top-stroke. In *ai* and *au* both the forms, i.e. top-stroke and perpendicular are to be found.



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2. A Copper plate grant of Kramaditya of A.D. 1062, V. V. Mirashi, *JBRs*, LI, pp. 55-57, Pl. f. p., 56.
3. Silsila inscription of Angasimha's time of A.D. 1105, D. C. Sircar, *EI*, XXXVI, pp. 39-41, Pl. f. p., 40.
4. Tarachandi rock inscription of Pratapdhaval of A.D. 1168, D. C. Sircar, *Ibid.*, XXXIV, pp. 23-27, Pls. b. pp. 26-27; (Table N<sub>32</sub>).\*

5. Nalanda inscription of Vipulasrimitra, N. G. Majumdar, *Ibid.*, XXI, pp. 97-101, Pl. f. p., 98.
6. Bronze sculpture inscription of Arapachan from Nepal, P. Banerjee, *JBRs*, XXXIII, pp. 164-69, Pls. I-V.
7. Gaya inscription of the time of Sultan Muizzuddin of A.D. 1200, *Ibid.*, LII, pp. 71-95, Pl. vii; (Tables F<sub>1</sub> & N<sub>33</sub>).\*
8. Gaya epigraph of A.D. 1268 noticing Balban as Biruban, H. N. Ansari, *Ibid.*, LIII, pp. 170-81, Pl. xxxiv; (Tables F<sub>1</sub> & N<sub>33</sub>).\*

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1. Gauhati grant of Indrapala of year 8; D. Sarma, *KŚ*, pp. 91-98, Pl. f. p., 91; (Table D<sub>2</sub>).\*
2. Guakuchi grant of Indrapala of year 21, *Ibid.*, pp. 99-102, Pl. f. p., 102; (Table D<sub>2</sub>).\*
3. Gachtal plates of Gopalavarmadeva, *Ibid.*, pp. 103-17, Pls. f. p., 103 & b. pp. 114-15.
4. Khonamukh plates of Dharmapala of year 1, *Ibid.*, pp. 118-23, Pls. f. p., 118 & b. pp. 122-23; (Table E<sub>2</sub>).\*
5. Silimpur inscription of Jayapaladeva, R. G. Basak, *EI*, XIII, pp. 283-85, Pl. f. p., 290.

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1. Mahulpara plates of Mahasivagupta-Dharmarath, P. R. Srinivasan, *EI*, XXXVII, pp. 225-32, Pls. b. pp. 228-29; (Tables D<sub>3</sub> & N<sub>32</sub>).\*
2. Ganjam plates of Ganga Vajrahasta III of A.D. 1069, R. C. Majumdar, *Ibid.*, XXIII, pp. 67-73, Pl. f. p., 72.
3. Badakhimedi plates of Indravarman, P. N. Bhattacharya, *Ibid.*, XXIII, pp. 78-80, Pls. b. pp. 80-81.
4. A charter of Kulika Virapachandradeva, P. R. Srinivasan, *Ibid.*, XXXVIII, pp. 63-65, Pls. b. pp. 64-65.
5. Bhuvanesvar inscription of Svapnesvara of the time of Ganga

Aniyankabhima, F. Kielhorn, *Ibid.*, VI, pp. 198-203, Pl. f. p., 202; (Table E<sub>3</sub>).\*

6. Two Bhanja grants in the Orissa State Museum, P. R. Srinivasan, *Ibid.*, XXXVII, pp. 257–68, Pls. b. pp. 260-61, 266-67 & f. p., 268.

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1. Narasapatam plates of Vajrahasta III of A.D. 1045, S. Konow, *EI*, XI, pp. 147-53, Pls. b. pp. 150-51 & f. p., 152.
2. Nadgam Plates of Vajrahasta of A.D. 1057, G. V. Rammurti, *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 183-93, Pls. b. pp. 190-91; (Table D<sub>4</sub>).\*
3. Arasavalli plates of Vajrahasta of A.D. 1060, G. S. Gai, *Ibid.*, XXXII, pp. 310-16, Pls. f. pp. 312, 314 & 315.
4. Madras museum plates of Vajrahasta of A.D. 1062, S. Konow, *Ibid.*, IX, pp. 94-98, Pls. b. pp. 96-97.

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1. Bengal Asiatic Society's plate of Trilochanapala of A.D. 1027, F. Kielhorn, *IA*, XVIII, pp. 33-35, Pl. f. p., 34.
2. Kara inscription of Yasahpala, D. R. Sahni, *JRAS*, 1927, Pl. f. p., 694.
3. Two Pratihara grants from Kuretha of Malayavarman & Naravarman of A.D. 1220 & 1247, D. C. Sircar, *EI*, XXX, pp. 143-52, Pls. b. pp. 148-49; (Tables F<sub>3</sub> & N<sub>34</sub>).\*
4. Gangol Tank-Bed inscription of Malayakshitisa of A.D. 1225, *Ibid.*, XXXVIII, Pl. f. p., 306.
5. Gangol Tank-Bed inscription of Malayakshamapala of A.D. 1225, *Ibid.*, Pl. f. p., 306.
6. Gangol Tank-Bed inscription of Malayavarman's time, *Ibid.*, Pl. f. p., 307.



7. Gangol Tank-Bed inscription of Naravarman's time, *Ibid.*, Pl. f. p., 308.

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1. Dubi stone inscription of the time of Gahadavalas, A. S. Altekar, *JUPHS*, V, pp. 86-88, Pl. f. p., 88.
2. Chandravati plate of Chandradeva of A.D. 1090, S. Konow, *EI*, IX, pp. 302-05, Pl. f. p., 304.
3. Chandravati plates of Chandradeva of A.D. 1093 & 1097, D. R. Sahni, *Ibid.*, pp. 192-209, Pls. b. pp. 192-93; (Tables D<sub>6</sub> & N<sub>35</sub>).\*
4. Allahabad museum plate of Govindachandra of A.D. 1114, D. C. Sircar, *Ibid.*, XXXIII, pp. 176-80, Pl. f. p., 179.
5. Three new copper plate grants of Govindachandra from Raiwan of A.D. 1123-28, A. Fuhrer, *JASB*, LVI, pp. 106-23, Pls. VI-VIII.
6. Maner plate of Govindachandra of A.D. 1126, R. Sarma, *JBORS*, II, pp. 441-47, Pl. f. p., 445.
7. Kamauli plate of Govindachandra of A.D. 1126, F. Kielhorn, *EI*, IV, pp. 97-100, Pl. f. p., 100; (Table E<sub>4</sub>).\*
8. Kamauli plate of Govindachandra of A.D. 1127, R. K. Ghoshal, *Ibid.*, XXVI, pp. 68-74, Pl. f. p., 72.
9. Copper plate inscription of Govindachandra of A.D. 1129, H. Sastri, *Ibid.*, XIII, pp. 295-97, Pl. f. p., 297.
10. Sahet-Mahet plate of Govindachandra of A.D. 1129, D. R. Sahni, *Ibid.*, XI, pp. 20-26, Pl. f. p., 24.
11. Rajghat plates of Govindachandra of A.D. 1140, Krishna Deva, *Ibid.*, XXXVI, pp. 268-73, Pls. b. pp. 272-73.
12. Unao Suvratnath image inscription of the time of Govindachandra of A.D. 1153, D. C. Sircar, *IHQ*, XXX, pp. 185-88. Pl. f. p., 184.
13. Sarnath inscription of Kumaradevi, S. Konow, *EI*, IX, pp. 319-28, Pl. f. p., 324.

14. Spurious grant of Vijayachandra of A.D. 1166, D. C. Sircar, *Ibid.*, XXXV, pp. 153-58, Pl. b. pp. 156-57.
15. Some Gahadaval grants, D. C. Sircar, *EI*, XXXV, pp. 201-20 & Pls.; (Table N<sub>35</sub>).\*
16. A Buddhist inscription from Bodh-Gaya of reign of Jayachchandra of A.D. 119X, N. B. Sanyal, *IHQ*, V, pp. 14-30, Pl. f. p., 17; (Table E<sub>1</sub>).\*
17. Lucknow Museum plate of Jayachchandra of A.D. 1180, N. P. Chakravarti, *Ibid.*, XXIV, pp. 291-95, Pls. b. pp. 294-95.

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1. Kasia stone inscription, V. V. Mirashi, *CII*, IV, Pl. LXI.
2. Kahla plates of Sodhadeva of A.D. 1079, *Ibid.*, Pl. LXII.

#### **Inscriptions of the Kalachurī of Tripurī**

1. Makundpur stone inscription of Gangeyadeva of A.D. 1019, V. V. Mirashi, *CII*, IV, Pl. XXXVII.
2. Paikore inscription of Karna (proto-Bengali), *Ibid.*, Pl. XXXIX.
3. Inscriptions of Karna, *Ibid.*, Pls. XXXVIII & XL-XLIV; (Table D<sub>5</sub>).\*
4. Tewar inscription of Gayakarna of A.D. 1151, *Ibid.*, Pl. XLVII.
5. Khairha and Jabalpur plates of Yasahakarna, *Ibid.*, Pls. XLV & XLVI.
6. Bhera-Ghat, Lal-Pahad, Alha-Ghat inscriptions of Narasimha, *Ibid.*, Pls. XLIX-LI.
7. Jabalpur, Rewa, plates and Tewar inscriptions of Jayasimha, *Ibid.*, Pls. LII-LV.
8. Rewa and Bhera-Ghat inscription of Vijayasimha, *Ibid.*, Pls. LVI-LVIII.
9. Jhulpur and Umariya plates of Vijayasimha, *JESI*, VII, Pl. XIX-XXI.

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1. Raipur and Amoda plates of Prithvideva I, V. V. Mirashi, *CII*, IV, Pls. LXIII-LXIV.

2. Ratanpur & Pali inscription of Jajalladeva I, *Ibid.*, Pl. LXV; (Table N<sub>36</sub>).\*
3. Sheorinarayan, Sarakho, Akalatara and Paragaon inscriptions of Ratnadeva II, *Ibid.*, Pls. LXVI-LXVIII & CI; (Table E<sub>6</sub>).\*
4. Inscriptions of Prithvideva II, *Ibid.*, Pls. LXIX-LXXVIII & CII; (Table N<sub>37</sub>).\*
5. Mallar, Sheorinarayan and Amoda inscriptions of Jajalladeva II, *Ibid.*, LXXIX-LXXXI; (Table E<sub>7</sub>).\*
6. Kharod inscription of Ratnadeva III, *Ibid.*, Pl. LXXXII.
7. Pendrabandha plates of Pratapamalla, *Ibid.*, Pl. LXXXIII.
8. Bilaigarh plates of Pratapamalla, *Ibid.*, Pl. LXXXIV.

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1. Nanyaur plate of Dhangadeva of A.D. 1050, F. Kielhorn, *IA*, XVI, pp. 204-07, Pl. f. p., 206.
2. Ajayagadh inscription of Kirttivarman, S. L. Katore, *EI*, XXX, pp. 87-90, Pl. f. p., 90; (Table N<sub>38</sub>).\*
3. Bharat Kala Bhavan plate of Madanvarman of A.D. 1135, D. C. Sircar, *Ibid.*, XXXII, pp. 118-22, Pl. f. p., 122.
4. Plate of Madanavarmadeva of A.D. 1138, F. Kielhorn, *IA*, XVI, pp. 207-10, Pl. f. p., 208.
5. Semra plates of Paramardideva of A.D. 1167, W. Cartellieri, *EI*, IV, pp. 166-67, Pls. b. pp. 166-67.
6. Mahoba plates of Paramardideva of A.D. 1173, Hira Lal, *Ibid.*, XVI, pp. 9-15, p., f. p., 12; (Table E<sub>5</sub>).\*
7. Pachar plate of Paramardideva of A.D. 1176, Arthur Venis, *Ibid.*, X, pp. 44-49, Pls. b. pp. 48-49.
8. Bharat Kala Bhavan plates of Paramardideva of A.D. 1185 & 1190, D. C. Sircar, XXXII, pp. 123-28, Pls. f. p., 123 & b. pp. 126-27.
9. Garra plates of Trailokyavarman of A.D. 1204, K. N. Dikshit, *Ibid.*, XVI, pp. 272-77, Pls. b. pp. 274-75.



10. Saugor plate of Trailokyavarman of A.D. 1207, Barua & Chakravarty, *JBBRAS*, NS, XXIII, pp. 47-51, Pl. f. p. 52.
11. Tehri plate of Trailokyavarman of A.D. 1208, S. L. Katare, *EI*, XXXI, pp. 70-73, Pl. f. p., 72.
12. Dhureti plates of Trailokyamalla of A.D. 1212, V. V. Mirashi, *CII*, IV, Pl. LX.
13. Ramvan plate of Trailokyavarman of A.D. 1226, *EI*, XXXVIII, pp. 269-74, Pl. f. p., 272.
14. Ajayagadh inscription of Nana of A.D. 1288, H. L. Srivastava, *Ibid.*, XXVIII, pp. 98-107, Pl. f. p., 102; (Table F<sub>2</sub>).\*
15. Charkhari plate of Hammiravarmadeva of A.D. 1289, Hira Lal, *Ibid.*, XX, pp. 134-36, Pl. f. p., 136.

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1. Udepur Prasasti of the king of Malwa, Bühler, *EI*, I, pp. 222-38, Pl. f. p., 234.
2. Three Paramara inscriptions from Malwa, K. N. Sastri, *Ibid.*, XXXI, pp. 25-30, Pls. b. pp. 28-29.
3. Mahudi plates of Bhoja of A.D. 1017, D. C. Sircar, *Ibid.*, XXXIII, pp. 215-18, Pls. b. pp. 218-19.
4. Banswara plates of Bhojadeva of A.D. 1019, E. Hultzsch, *Ibid.*, XI, pp. 181-83, Pls. b. pp. 182-83; (Table D<sub>9</sub>).\*
5. Betma plates of Bhoja of A.D. 1019, D. B. Diskalkar, *Ibid.*, XVIII, pp. 320-25, Pls. b. pp. 322-23.
6. Sasan of Bhoja of Dhar of A.D. 1021, N. G. Kirtne, *IA*, VI, pp. 53-55, Pls. f. pp. 53 & 54.
7. New plates of king Bhoja in the Indore Museum of A.D. 1022, R. G. Ojha, *IHQ*, VIII, pp. 305-15, Pls. f. pp. 305 & 312.
8. Modas plate of the time of Bhoja, D. C. Sircar, *EI*, XXXIII, pp. 192-98, Pls. b. pp. 196-97.

9. Bhojapur fragmentary inscription of the time of Bhoja, D. C. Sircar, *Ibid.*, XXXV, pp. 185-86, Pl. f. p., 186.
10. Mandhata plates of Jayasimha of A.D. 1055, F. Kielhorn, *Ibid.*, III, pp. 46-50, Pl. f. p., 50.
11. Udayapur inscription of Udayaditya of A.D. 1080, Ramsharma, *Ibid.*, XXXVIII, pp. 281-84, Pls. b. pp. 282-83.
12. Bhojapur inscription of the time of Naravarman of A.D. 1100, D. C. Sircar, *Ibid.*, XXXV, p., 186, Pl. f. p., 186.
13. Arthuna inscription of the time of Vijayaraja of A.D. 1109 R. R. Halder, *Ibid.*, XXI, pp. 50-55, Pl. f. p., 52.
14. Kadambapadraka grant of Naravarman of A.D. 1110, R. D. Banerji, *Ibid.*, XX, pp. 105-08, Pls. b. pp. 106-07.
15. Raipur plate of Naravarman, *Rungevalli Recent Researches in Indology*, Pls. 17-20.
16. Mahakalesvara Temple inscription of the time of Naravarman, K. N. Sastri, *EI*, XXXI, pp. 25-28, Pls. b. pp. 28-29.
17. Dongargaon inscription of the time of Jaggadeva of A.D. 1112, V. V. Mirashi, *Ibid.*, XXVI, pp. 177-85, Pl. f. p., 183.
18. Jodhpur museum inscription of Visala of A.D. 1117, G. S. Gai, *Ibid.*, XXXVII, pp. 222-24, Pl. f. p., 224.
19. Bhopal plates of Mahakumar Harischandradeva of A. D. 1157, N. P. Chakravarti, *Ibid.*, XXIV, pp. 225-34, Pls. b. pp. 232-33.
20. Abu Plates of Dharavarsha, R. R. Halder, *IA*, LVI, pp. 47-51, Pls. b. pp. 50-51.
21. Dhar prasasti of Arjunavarman, E. Hultzsch, *EI*, VIII, pp. 96-122, Pls. f. pp. 106, 112 & 116.
22. Harsauda inscription of Devapala of A.D. 1218, Burgess & B. L. Indraji, *ICTWI*, pp. 11-12, last plate.



23. Dhanta image inscription of Somasimha of A.D. 1220, C. L. Suri, *EI*, XXXVII, pp. 209-11, Pl. f. p., 211.
24. Mandhata plates of Devapala of A.D. 1225, F. Kielhorn, *Ibid.*, IX, pp. 103-16, Pls. b. pp. 110-11; (Table N<sub>39</sub>).\*
25. Bhilsa inscription of the time of Jayasimha of A.D. 1263, D. C. Sircar, *Ibid.*, XXXV, pp. 187-88, Pl. f. p., 187.
26. Pathari inscription of the time of Jayasimhadeva II of A. D. 1269, Ramsharma, *Ibid.*, XXXVIII, pp. 33-34, Pl. f. p., 34.
27. Mandhata plates of Jayasimha-Jayavarman of A.D. 1274, D. C. Sircar, *Ibid.*, XXXII, pp. 138-56, Pls. b. pp. 148-49, 150-51, 154-55 & f. p., 156; (Table F<sub>4</sub>).\*
28. Girvad stone inscription of the time of Pratapasimha, H. V. Trivedi, *CII*, VII, Pl. II, pp. 270-77, Pl. LXXXII.

### **Chāhamān Inscriptions**

1. Sevadi plates of Ratnapala of A.D. 1119, Ram Karna, *EI*, XI, pp. 304-13, Pls. b. pp. 310-11.
2. A Chahaman inscription of A.D. 1132, C. L. Suri, *Ibid.*, XXXVII, pp. 163-64, Pl. f. p., 164.
3. Nadol plates of Kirtipala of A.D. 1161, Ram Karna, *IA*, XL, pp. 144-47, Pls. b. pp. 144-45; (Table E<sub>11</sub>).\*
4. Bamner plate of Kelhana of A.D. 1163 & 1166, M. B. Garde, *EI*, XIII, pp. 206-11, Pls. b. pp. 208-209.
5. Anvalda pillar inscription of Somesvara and Prithviraja III, G. S. Gai, *Ibid.*, XXXVII, pp. 278-81, Pl. f. p., 281.
6. Menal inscription of the time of Prithviraja of A.D. 1169, Ram Sharma, *Ibid.*, XXXVIII, pp. 155-58, Pl. f. p., 320.
7. Barla inscription of the time of Prithviraja III of A.D. 1177, D. C. Sircar, *Ibid.*, XXXII, pp. 299-304, Pl. f. p., 303.



8. Two Songira Chauhan inscriptions from Barlut of A.D. 1226 & 1273, Sircar & Ramesh, *Ibid.*, XXXVI, pp. 33-38, Pls. b. pp. 36-37.
9. Menal inscription of Meghanand of A.D. 1255, Ram Sharma, *Ibid.*, XXXVII, pp. 155-58, Pl. f. p., 158.
10. Nun inscription of Sodhadeva of A.D. 1279, C. L. Suri, *Ibid.*, XXXVII, pp. 305-06, Pl. f. p., 306.
11. Inscription of the time of Hammir of Ranthambhor of A.D. 1288, *Ibid.*, XIX, pp. 45-52, Pl. f. p., 50; (Tables F<sub>5</sub> & N<sub>40</sub>).\*
12. Varda inscription of Samantasimha of A.D. 1290, C. L. Suri, *Ibid.*, XXXVIII, pp. 43-54, Pl. f. p., 45.

### Miscellaneous

1. Rajapur plates of Nagavamsi Madhurantakadeva of A.D. 1065, Hira Lal, *EI*, IX, pp. 174-81, Pls. b. pp. 178-79; (Table D<sub>7</sub>).\*
2. Kadmal plates of Guhila Vijayasimha of A.D. 1083, A. K. Vyas, *EI*, XXXI, pp. 237-48, Pls. b. pp. 246-47; (Table D<sub>10</sub>).\*
3. Dubkund inscription of Kachchhapaghata Vikramasimha of A.D. 1088, *ASIR*, XX, Pls. XXI & XXIII.
4. Kalanjar inscription of A.D. 1090, S. L. Katore, *EI*, XXXI, pp. 163-66, Pl. f. p., 165.
5. Sas-Bahu Temple inscription of Kachchhapaghata Mahipala of A.D. 1093, F. Kielhorn, *IA*, XV, pp. 33-46, Pl. f. p., 36; (Table D<sub>8</sub>).\*
6. Lucknow Museum plate of Kirtipala of A.D. 1110, F. Kielhorn, *EI*, VII, pp. 93-98, Pls. b. pp. 96-97.
7. Paldi inscription of Guhila Arisimha of A.D. 1116, A. K. Vyas, *Ibid.*, XXX, pp. 8-12, Pl. f. p., 10; (Tables E<sub>10</sub> & N<sub>41</sub>).\*
8. Kamauli plate of Singar Vatsaraja of A.D. 1134, F. Kielhorn, *Ibid.*, XI, pp. 130-33, Pls. b. pp. 24-25.

9. Jain inscription from Shergarh of A.D. 1134, D. C. Sircar, *Ibid.*, XXXI, pp. 81-86, Pl. f. p., 84.
10. Mahaban prasasti of A.D. 1150, G. Bühler, *Ibid.*, II, pp. 275-79, Pls. b. pp. 274-75.
11. Delhi Siwalik inscription of Visaladeva of A.D. 1163, F. Kielhorn, *IA*, XIX, pp. 215-19, Pl. f. p., 218.
12. Durgapur pedestal inscription of A.D. 1169, *ASI, ARIE*, 1963-64, p., 64 (132), Pl. II.
13. Sihawa inscription of Kakair Karnaraja of A.D. 1192, Hira Lal, *EI*, IX, pp. 182-87, Pl. f. p., 186; (Table E<sub>8</sub>).\*
14. Two inscriptions of Ajayapaladeva of A.D. 1192 & 1194, Ramasharma, *Ibid.*, XXXVIII, pp. 132-34, Pls. b. pp. 132-33.
15. Machhalisahar plate of Harischandradeva of Kanauja of A.D. 1196, Hirananda, *Ibid.*, X, pp. 93-100, Pls. b. pp. 98-99.
16. Bhopal plates of Udayavarman of A.D. 1199, J. F. Fleet, *IA*, XVI, pp. 252-56, Pls. b. pp. 256-57; (Table E<sub>9</sub>).\*
17. Jhansi inscription of Sallakshanasimha, F. Kielhorn, *EI*, I, pp. 214-17, Pl. f. p., 216.
18. Thakarda inscription of the time of Surapaladeva, R. R. Halder, *IA*, LVI, pp. 216-17, Pl. f. p., 226.
19. Narayanpal inscription of Naga Gunda Mahadevi, Hiralal, *EI*, IX, pp. 311-16, Pl. f. p., 314.
20. Chittoragarh inscription, *ASI, AREI*, 1956-57, p., 84 (473), Pl. III.
21. Pujaripali inscription of Gopaladeva, V. V. Mirashi, *CII*, IV, Pl. XCIV.
22. Thankpar plates of Somavamsi Pamparajadeva of A.D. 1213 & 1214, *Ibid.*, Pl. XCVI (A-B).
23. Bhera-Ghat inscription of A.D. 1218, *ICTWI*, p. 105-11, Pl. inscription I.

24. Unchahra fragmentary inscription of A.D. 1237, D. C. Sircar, *EI*, XXXIII, pp. 121-24, Pl. f. p., 124.
25. Jain inscription at the Temple of Neminath on Mount Abu of Tejapal of A.D. 1230, H. Lüders, *Ibid.*, VIII, pp. 219-22, Pl. f. p., 212.
26. Baraudi inscription of the time of Gopala of A.D. 1279, D. C. Sircar, *Ibid.*, XXXIII, pp. 31-35, Pl. f. p., 34; (Table N<sub>42</sub>).\*
27. Narwar inscription of the time of Gopala of A.D. 1282, D. C. Sircar, *Ibid.*, XXXIII, pp. 36-40, Pl. f. p., 40.
28. Inscriptions of the time of Gopala of A.D. 1281 & 1284, D. C. Sircar, *Ibid.*, XXXI, pp. 323-36, Pls. b. pp. 326-27.
29. Inscription of A.D. 1283 from Survaya, M. S. Bhat, *Ibid.*, XXXVIII, pp. 263-66, Pl. f. p., 264.
30. Two inscription of the time of Ganapati of A.D. 1293 & 1298, D. C. Sircar, *EI*, XXXII, pp. 339-46, Pls. f. pp. 342 & 346.
31. Budhera inscription of A.D. 1294, D. C. Sircar, *Ibid.*, XXXIII, pp. 163-66, Pl. f. p., 165.
32. Lal-Darwaja Masjid inscription of A.D. 1296, *ASIR*, XI, Pl. XXXVII (3).
33. Fragmentary. Yajvapala inscription from Narwara, D. C. Sircar, *EI*, XXXIII, pp. 65-70, Pl. f. p., 68.
34. Ajayagadh inscription, *ASIR*, XXI, Pls. XIII-XIV.
35. Rajaghat inscription of Bhimadeva, D. C. Sircar, *EI*, XXXII, pp. 277-82, Pl. f. p., 281.
36. Rataul plate of Chahadadeva, D. R. Sahni, *Ibid.*, XII, pp. 221-24, Pl. f. p., 224.

## Western India and the Deccan

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1. Kauthem Plates of Vikramaditya V of A.D. 1008, Fleet, *IA*, XVI, pp. 15-24, Pls. b. pp. 22-23; (Table D<sub>12</sub>).\*



2. Miraj plates of Jayasimha II of A.D. 1024, L. D. Barnett, *EI*, XII, pp. 303-15, Pls. b. pp. 312-13.
3. Mumdaka grant of Bhimadeva of A.D. 1029, G. S. Gai, *Ibid.*, XXXVII, pp. 35-37, Pl. f. p., 36.
4. Copper-plates of Somesvara I of A.D. 1047, *IAR*, 1974-75, Pl. XLVIII.
5. A Copper-plate grant of Trilochanapala of A.D. 1050, H. H. Dhruva, *IA*, XII, pp. 196-205, Pls. b. pp. 202-03; (Table N<sub>43</sub>).\*
6. Paliad plates of Bhimadeva I of A.D. 1055, A. L. Basham, *EI*, XXXIII, pp. 235-37, Pl. f. p., 236; (Table D<sub>11</sub>).\*
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9. Two sets of Chalukya copper plate from Navasari of A.D. 1074, G. V. Acharya, *JBBRAS*, XXVI, pp. 250-64, Pl. f. p., 264.
10. Tilgundi grant of Tribhuvanamalla of A.D. 1083, S. P. Pandit, *IA*, I, pp. 80-84, Pls. b. pp. 80-81.
11. Sitabaldi inscription of the time of Vikramaditya VI of A.D. 1086, F. Kielhorn, *EI*, III, pp. 304-06, Pl. f. p., 306.
12. Nilagund plates of Vikramaditya VI of A.D. 1087 & 1123, L. D. Barnett, *Ibid.*, XII, pp. 142-55, Pls. b. pp. 152-53; (Table E<sub>16</sub>).\*
13. Sunak plates of king Karna I of A.D. 1091, E. Hultzsch, *Ibid.*, I, pp. 316-18, Pls. b. pp. 316-17.
14. Ganesvadi inscription of the time of Tribhubanmalla of A.D. 1099, V. M. Kolte, *Ibid.*, XXXVIII, pp. 289-304, Pls. b. pp. 290-91 & f. p., 292.
15. A Chalukya grant of A.D. 1207, E. Hultzsch, *IA*, XI, pp. 337-40, Pls. b. pp. 338-39.

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17. Veraval inscription of Bhima II, V. P. Joharapurkar, *EI*, XXXIII, pp. 117-20, Pl. f. p., 120; (Table E<sub>12</sub>).\*
18. Mount Abu inscription of the reign of Bhimadeva II of A.D. 1230, H. Lüders, *EI*, VIII, pp. 200-29, Pls. f. pp. 212 & 222.
19. Veraval inscription of Arjuna of A.D. 1264, D. C. Sircar, *Ibid.*, XXXIV, pp. 143-52, Pl. f. p., 148; (Table F<sub>6</sub>).\*
20. Desan inscription of the time of Karna of A.D. 1297, C. C. Das Gupta, *Ibid.*, XXXIV, pp. 153-56, Pl. f. p., 152.

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1. Kharepatan & Balipattan plates of Rattaraja of A.D. 1008-1010, V. V. Mirashi, *CII*, IV, Pls. LXXIX-LXXXVII.
2. Thana plates of Arikesarin of A.D. 1017, *Ibid.*, Pl. XXI.
3. Inscriptions of Chittaraja of A.D. 1026-1034, *Ibid.*, Pls. XXII-XXXIV; (Table D<sub>14</sub>).\*
4. Thana plates of Nagarjuna of A.D. 1039, *Ibid.*, Pls. XXXV-XXXVI.
5. Inscriptions of Mummuniraja of A.D. 1048-1060, *Ibid.*, Pls. XXXVII-XLIV; (Table N<sub>44</sub>).\*
6. Inscription of Anantadeva I of A.D. 1081-1094, *Ibid.*, Pls. XLV-L; (Table D<sub>15</sub>).\*
7. Talale and Kolhapur inscriptions of Gandaraditya of A.D. 1110-1126, *Ibid.*, Pls. XCII-XCVI & C-CI; (Table I<sub>13</sub>).\*
8. Inscriptions of Aparaditya of A.D. 1127-1138, *Ibid.*, LI-LVII.
9. Panhale plates of Vikramaditya of A.D. 1139, *Ibid.*, Pls. LVIII-LXI.
10. Inscriptions of Haripaladeva of A.D. 1148-1154, *Ibid.*, LXII-LXV.
11. Chiplun and Bassein inscriptions of Mallakarjuna of A.D. 1156-1161, *Ibid.*, Pls. LXVI-LXVII.

12. Inscriptions of Aparaditya II of A.D. 1184-1186, *Ibid.*, Pls. LXVIII-LXX.
13. Kolhapur inscription of Bhoja II of A.D. 1190-93, *Ibid.*, Pl. CXII-CXIII; (Table E<sub>14</sub>).\*
14. Bassein stone inscription of Anantadeva II of A.D. 1198, *Ibid.*, Pl. LXXI; (Table N<sub>45</sub>).\*
15. Inscriptions of Keshideva II of A.D. 1203-39, *Ibid.*, Pls. LXXII-LXXIV.
16. Ranvad inscription of Somesvara of A.D. 1259, *Ibid.*, Pl. LXXV.
17. Chanje inscription of Somesvara of A.D. 1260, *Ibid.*, Pl. LXXVI.

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1. Savai-Vere plates of Guhalladeva II of A.D. 1038, M. G. Dikshit, *JUPHS*, XVIII, pp. 174-95, Pls. b. pp. 194-95.
2. Ittagi plates of Jayakeshi of A.D. 1062, *IA, AR*, 1974-75, Pl. XLVII; (Table D<sub>16</sub>).\*
3. Copper-plate grant of Tribhuvanamalla of A.D. 1106, P. B. Desai, *EI*, XXX, pp. 71-77, Pls. b. pp. 76-77.
4. Asoge plates of Jayakeshin of A.D. 1133, G. H. Khare, *Ibid.*, XXVI, pp. 304-09, Pls. b. pp. 308-09; (Table E<sub>15</sub>).\*
5. Savaragaon inscription of Marudadeva of A.D. 1164, *Prachin Marathi Koriv Lekh*, Pl. 13.
6. Sadasivagad plates of Vijayaditya of A.D. 1180, P. B. Desai, *EI*, XXIX, pp. 29-32, Pls. b. pp. 30-31.
7. Dodavad plates of Jayakeshi III of A.D. 1209, R. N. Guruv, *JESI*, III, pp. 43-68, Pls. f. pp. 48, 50, 52 & 54.
8. Gadivore grant of Sharthadeva II of A.D. 1262, G. S. Gai, *EI*, XXXIV, pp. 107-12, Pls. b. pp. 108-09.

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1. Kalas-Budruk plates of Bhillam III of A.D. 1026, J. F. Fleet, *IA* XVII, pp. 117-22, Pls. b. pp. 118-19; (Table D<sub>13</sub>).\*



2. Two Yadava charters from Devalali of A.D. 1052, S. Sankaranarayanan, *EI*, XXXVII, pp. 74-84, Pls. b. pp. 80-81.
3. Asvi Plates of Airamadeva of A.D. 1098, G. S. Gai, *Ibid.*, XXXVI, pp. 249-56, Pls. b. pp. 252-53.
4. Yadava Inscription of A.D. 1141, B. L. Indraji, *IA*, XII, pp. 119-29, Pl. f. p., 126.
5. Yadava Inscription from Patan of A.D. 1153, Bühler, *Ibid.*, VIII, pp. 39-42, Pl. f. p., 40.
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7. The Yogesvari Temple inscription of Kholesvara, *Ibid.*, Pl. f. p., 37.
8. Prakasa inscription of Simhana's Time of A.D. 1234, Sircar & Subrahmanyam, *EI*, XXXVI, pp. 19-22, Pl. f. p., 21.
9. Karalahalli grant of Simhana of A.D. 1238, J. F. Fleet, *JBBRAS*, XV, pp. 382-90, Pls. b. pp. 386-87.
10. Amba inscriptions of Simhana of A.D. 1240, *ASWI*, III, Pl. LVIII.
11. Dharwar plates of the time of Simhana, Sircar & Sankaranarayanan, *EI*, XXXIV, Pls. b. pp. 38-39, & f. p., 41.
12. The Ramanarayan Temple inscription of Lakshmi of A.D. 1240, *YIAJ*, Pl. f. p., 49.
13. Tasgaon plates of Krishna of A.D. 1250, G. H. Khare, *EI*, XXVII, pp. 206-16, Pls. b. pp. 212-13.
14. Methi inscription of Krishna of A.D. 1254, P. B. Desai, *Ibid.*, XXVIII, pp. 312-20, Pl. f. p., 319; (Table N<sub>46</sub>).\*
15. Kalegaon plates of Mahadeva of A.D. 1260, D. G. Kaparkar, *Ibid.*, XXXII, pp. 31-44, Pls. b. pp. 38-39 & 42-43; (Table F<sub>7</sub>)\*
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17. Unkesvara inscription of Ramachandra of A.D. 1280, *Inscriptions from Nanded District*, Pl. XVIII.

**Miscellaneous**

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2. Kondguli inscription of Bhuvalokamalla of A.D. 1132, K. V. Ramesh, *Ibid.*, XXXVII, pp. 189-92, Pls. b. pp. 192-93.
3. Balsane inscription of the time of Krishna of A.D. 1184, M. G. Dikshit, *EI*, XXVI, pp. 309-13, Pl. f. p., 312.
4. Society's Museum plate of A.D. 1187, B. L. Indraj, *JBBRAS*, XII, pp. 329-35, Pl. f. p., 334.
5. Inscription of Kakatiya Ganapati of A.D. 1199, *IAR*, 1958-59, Pl. LXVIII.
6. Karnatak copper plate grant of Hoysala Vira-Ballala of A.D. 1204, *KI*, I, Pls. f. pp. 58, 60, 62 & 64; (Table F<sub>8</sub>).\*
7. Inscription from the Temple of Vastupal Tejpala of A.D. 1231, *ASWI*, *AKK*, Pl. XXXV.
8. Veraval inscription of A.D. 1246, F. Kielhorn, *EI*, III, pp. 302-04, Pls. b. pp. 306-07.
9. Grant of Maharajakula Jaitrasimhadeva of A.D. 1290, Sadhu Ram, *EI*, XXXII, pp. 220-28; (Table N<sub>47</sub>).\*

**References for Plates 91-120  
(11th Century)**

Table	Inscription	Date in A.D.	Reference
D <sub>1</sub>	Bihar grant of Saurāditya	1020	<i>EI</i> , XXXV. Pls. b. pp. 134-35.
D <sub>2</sub>	Gauhātī grant of Indrapāla	—	<i>KŚ</i> , Pl. f. p., 91.
	Guākuchi grant of Indrapāla	—	<i>KŚ</i> , Pl. f. p., 102.
D <sub>3</sub>	Mahulpara plates of Mahāśivagupta-Dharmarath	—	<i>EI</i> , XXXVII, Pls. b. pp. 228-29.
D <sub>4</sub>	Naḍagām plates of Vajrahasta	1057	<i>EI</i> , IV, Pls. b. pp. 190-91.
D <sub>5</sub>	Goharwā Plates of Karṇa	—	<i>CII</i> , IV, Pl. XL.
D <sub>6</sub>	Chandrāvati plates of Chandra	1093 & 1099	<i>EI</i> , XIV, Pls. b. pp. 192-93 & f. pp. 196 & 198.
D <sub>7</sub>	Rājapur plates of Madhurantak	1065	<i>EI</i> , IX, pls. b. pp. 178-79.
D <sub>8</sub>	Sās-Bahū inscription of Mahīpāla	1093	<i>IA</i> , XV, Pl. f. p., 36.
D <sub>9</sub>	Banswārā plates of Bhoja	1019	<i>EI</i> , XI, Pls. b. pp. 182-83.
D <sub>10</sub>	Kadmāl plates of Vijayasimha	1083	<i>EI</i> , XXXI, Pls. b. pp. 246-47.
D <sub>11</sub>	Paliād plates of Bhīma I	1055	<i>EI</i> , XXXIII, Pl. f. p., 236.
	Bhadreśvar plates of Bhīma I	1060	<i>EI</i> , XXXVII, Pl. f. p., 39.



D <sub>12</sub>	Kauṭhem plates of Vikramāditya V	1008	IA, XVI, Pls. b. pp. 22-23.
D <sub>13</sub>	Kalas-Budrukh plates of Bhil-lam III	1026	IA, XVII, Pls. b. pp. 118-19.
D <sub>14</sub>	Bhaṇḍup plates of Chhittarāja	1026	CII, VI, Pls. XXII-XXIV
D <sub>15</sub>	Kharepāṭaṇ plates of Ananta I	1094	CII, VI, Pls. XLVI-L.
D <sub>16</sub>	Ittagi plates of Jayakeśi I	1062	IA, AR: 1974-75, Pl. XLVII.

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	D <sub>1</sub>	D <sub>2</sub>	D <sub>3</sub>	D <sub>4</sub>	D <sub>5</sub>	D <sub>6</sub>	D <sub>7</sub>	D <sub>8</sub>	D <sub>9</sub>	D <sub>10</sub>	D <sub>11</sub>	D <sub>12</sub>	D <sub>13</sub>	D <sub>14</sub>	D <sub>15</sub>	D <sub>16</sub>
VOWEL								इ								
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DH					दी	दी	दी				दी	दी				
N	नी	नी	नी	नी	नी	नी	नी	नी	नी	नी	नी	नी	नी	नी	नी	नी
P	पी	पी		पी	पी	पी	पी				पी	पी		पी	पी	
PH																
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BH		नी		नी			नी			नी	नी			नी		
M	मी		मी	मी	मी	मी	मी	मी	मी	मी	मी	मी	मी	मी		
Y	यी		यी	यी	यी	यी	यी	यी								यी
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V	वी	वी	वी	वी	वी	वी	वी				वी	वी	वी	वी		
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SH				षी										षी		
S	सी	सी	सी		सी	सी	सी	सी	सी	सी		सी	सी	सी	सी	सी
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	D <sub>1</sub>	D <sub>2</sub>	D <sub>3</sub>	D <sub>4</sub>	D <sub>5</sub>	D <sub>6</sub>	D <sub>7</sub>	D <sub>8</sub>	D <sub>9</sub>	D <sub>10</sub>	D <sub>11</sub>	D <sub>12</sub>	D <sub>13</sub>	D <sub>14</sub>	D <sub>15</sub>	D <sub>16</sub>
VOWEL	उ	उ	उ		उ	उ	उ	उ	उ	उ	उ	उ	उ	उ	उ	
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N	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ		ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ
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Y	ॐ		ॐ	ॐ	ॐ		ॐ					ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ
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SH	ॐ				ॐ	ॐ		ॐ				ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ
S	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ
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		D <sub>1</sub>	D <sub>2</sub>	D <sub>3</sub>	D <sub>4</sub>	D <sub>5</sub>	D <sub>6</sub>	D <sub>7</sub>	D <sub>8</sub>	D <sub>9</sub>	D <sub>10</sub>	D <sub>11</sub>	D <sub>12</sub>	D <sub>13</sub>	D <sub>14</sub>	D <sub>15</sub>	D <sub>16</sub>
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D	୩				୩	୩		୩			୧				୩	
DH	୨	୨	୨		୨	୨		୩					୩		୨	
N				୩	୩			୩		୩			୩		୩	୩
P	୩	୨	୨	୨	୨	୨		୨	୨	୩	୩	୩	୨	୨	୨	୨
PH																
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BH	୩	୩	୩	୩	୩			୩	୩	୩	୩	୩	୩	୩	୩	୩
M		୩	୩	୩		୩		୩		୩		୩		୩	୩	୩
Y					୨	୨		୨	୨			୨				
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S	୩	୨	୩	୩	୩	୩	୩	୩		୩	୩		୩	୩	୩	୩
H	୩		୩	୩	୩	୩	୩					୩				

𑀓𑀲																
	D <sub>1</sub>	D <sub>2</sub>	D <sub>3</sub>	D <sub>4</sub>	D <sub>5</sub>	D <sub>6</sub>	D <sub>7</sub>	D <sub>8</sub>	D <sub>9</sub>	D <sub>10</sub>	D <sub>11</sub>	D <sub>12</sub>	D <sub>13</sub>	D <sub>14</sub>	D <sub>15</sub>	D <sub>16</sub>
VOWEL																
K	𑀓𑀲	𑀓𑀲	𑀓𑀲	𑀓𑀲	𑀓𑀲	𑀓𑀲	𑀓𑀲	𑀓𑀲	𑀓𑀲	𑀓𑀲			𑀓𑀲	𑀓𑀲	𑀓𑀲	𑀓𑀲
KH																
G	𑀓𑀲		𑀓𑀲		𑀓𑀲	𑀓𑀲	𑀓𑀲	𑀓𑀲					𑀓𑀲			
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T	𑀓𑀲		𑀓𑀲	𑀓𑀲	𑀓𑀲	𑀓𑀲			𑀓𑀲	𑀓𑀲		𑀓𑀲	𑀓𑀲	𑀓𑀲	𑀓𑀲	𑀓𑀲

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	D <sub>1</sub>	D <sub>2</sub>	D <sub>3</sub>	D <sub>4</sub>	D <sub>5</sub>	D <sub>6</sub>	D <sub>7</sub>	D <sub>8</sub>	D <sub>9</sub>	D <sub>10</sub>	D <sub>11</sub>	D <sub>12</sub>	D <sub>13</sub>	D <sub>14</sub>	D <sub>15</sub>	D <sub>16</sub>
TH																
D				६ ६				६ ६							६ ६	
DH	६			६		६ ६									६	
N	६		६ ६	६ ६	६ ६	६ ६	६ ६		६		६ ६	६ ६	६ ६	६ ६	६ ६	६
P		६ ६			६ ६	६ ६	६				६				६	
PH																
B																
BH	६ ६ ६			६ ६ ६								६ ६ ६ ६				
M	६ ६ ६				६		६					६ ६				
Y																
R																
L																
V	६ ६ ६ ६			६			६ ६		६ ६	६ ६	६ ६	६ ६	६ ६	६ ६	६ ६	६
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SH																
S								६				६			६ ६	
H	६ ६ ६			६ ६				६ ६ ६		६						



	E															
	D <sub>1</sub>	D <sub>2</sub>	D <sub>3</sub>	D <sub>4</sub>	D <sub>5</sub>	D <sub>6</sub>	D <sub>7</sub>	D <sub>8</sub>	D <sub>9</sub>	D <sub>10</sub>	D <sub>11</sub>	D <sub>12</sub>	D <sub>13</sub>	D <sub>14</sub>	D <sub>15</sub>	D <sub>16</sub>
Vowel	ए	अ		इ	ए	प	प	प		ए	ए	प	प	प	प	प
K	कै	क	क	क		क	क	कै	कै	क	क	क	कै	क	क	क
KH	खै		ख		ख			ख				ख			ख	
G	गै			ग			ग	गै		ग		गै	ग	ग	ग	ग
GH										घै						
Ṇ																
CH					चै	च					च	च			च	
CHH																
J	जै			ज	जै	ज	जै					जै	ज		जै	
JH																
Ṇ																
T					टै						ट					ट
ṬH						ṭ										
D						डै		ड				ड				
DH																
N	नै			न	नै	न		न				न	न	न	न	न
T	तै	त	त	त	तै	त	तै	त	तै			तै	त	तै	त	त

E																
	D <sub>1</sub>	D <sub>2</sub>	D <sub>3</sub>	D <sub>4</sub>	D <sub>5</sub>	D <sub>6</sub>	D <sub>7</sub>	D <sub>8</sub>	D <sub>9</sub>	D <sub>10</sub>	D <sub>11</sub>	D <sub>12</sub>	D <sub>13</sub>	D <sub>14</sub>	D <sub>15</sub>	D <sub>16</sub>
TH						वे	थ									ष
D	द		दे	दि	द	द	द	दे	दे	दे	दे	दे	द	द	द	द
DH	ध				ध			वे	ध		वे		ध		ध	वे
N	न		व	नि	न	न	ने	ने	न	न	न	ने	न	न	न	न
P			प	प	प	प	प	प		पे		पे	पे			प
PH																
B																
BH				रु						न	रु					
M	म	म	म	म	म	मे	मे	मे	मे	मे	मे	मे	मे	मे	म	म
Y	य		य	य	य	ये	ये	ये	ये	ये	ये	ये	य	य	य	ये
R	र	र	र	र	र	रे	रे	रे			र	रे	र	र	र	रे
L	ले	ल	ल	ल	ल	ले	ले	ले	ले		ले	ल	ल	ल	ल	ल
V			व	व	व	वे	व	वे		व		व	व	वे	व	व
Ś	श		श		श	श		श				श	श	न		
SH	ष									षे	ष					
S	से		स		स	स	से	स	से	स	से	स	से	स	स	स
H	ह	ह	ह	ह	ह	ह	हे	ह		हे	ह		ह			ह

ॐ																
	D <sub>1</sub>	D <sub>2</sub>	D <sub>3</sub>	D <sub>4</sub>	D <sub>5</sub>	D <sub>6</sub>	D <sub>7</sub>	D <sub>8</sub>	D <sub>9</sub>	D <sub>10</sub>	D <sub>11</sub>	D <sub>12</sub>	D <sub>13</sub>	D <sub>14</sub>	D <sub>15</sub>	D <sub>16</sub>
VOWEL																
K			कै			कि		के					कै	के		
KH					खै		खे									
G																
GH																
Ṇ																
CH	चै							चे		वि		वे	वै	वे		
CHH																
J	जै							जे	के	डे	हु					
JH																
Ṇ																
T																
TH																
D																
DH																
N	नै		नै	है	तै		नै	नै	नै		नै		नै	नै		
T	तै		तै	तै	तै		तै	तै			तै					



	ॐ															
	D <sub>1</sub>	D <sub>2</sub>	D <sub>3</sub>	D <sub>4</sub>	D <sub>5</sub>	D <sub>6</sub>	D <sub>7</sub>	D <sub>8</sub>	D <sub>9</sub>	D <sub>10</sub>	D <sub>11</sub>	D <sub>12</sub>	D <sub>13</sub>	D <sub>14</sub>	D <sub>15</sub>	D <sub>16</sub>
TH								ॐ						ॐ ॐ		
D	ॐ				ॐ			ॐ ॐ		ॐ ॐ						ॐ
DH	ॐ			ॐ ॐ								ॐ				
N	ॐ		ॐ ॐ					ॐ	ॐ					ॐ ॐ ॐ		
P														ॐ		ॐ
PH																
B																
BH				ॐ				ॐ								
M		ॐ						ॐ	ॐ				ॐ ॐ			
Y		ॐ			ॐ			ॐ ॐ ॐ	ॐ		ॐ		ॐ	ॐ		ॐ
R		ॐ		ॐ ॐ				ॐ			ॐ					ॐ
L		ॐ										ॐ		ॐ ॐ ॐ		
V	ॐ ॐ ॐ			ॐ ॐ				ॐ	ॐ		ॐ		ॐ	ॐ ॐ ॐ		
Ś		ॐ		ॐ				ॐ						ॐ		
SH																
S	ॐ			ॐ							ॐ			ॐ ॐ		
H				ॐ ॐ				ॐ	ॐ							

	०															
	D <sub>1</sub>	D <sub>2</sub>	D <sub>3</sub>	D <sub>4</sub>	D <sub>5</sub>	D <sub>6</sub>	D <sub>7</sub>	D <sub>8</sub>	D <sub>9</sub>	D <sub>10</sub>	D <sub>11</sub>	D <sub>12</sub>	D <sub>13</sub>	D <sub>14</sub>	D <sub>15</sub>	D <sub>16</sub>
Vowel																
K	का			का	को	कौ	का	की	कौ	की	कौ	का	का	का	का	
KH									खो							
G	गा		गो	गा	गो	गा	गो	गो	गो	गो	गो	गा	गा	गा	गा	
GH																
Ṇ																
CH		ख					खो		ख				ख	ख		
CHH																
J		ज		जा	जो	जा	जो		झ		झ		झ	झ	झ	
JH																
Ṇ																
T								थ		थ		थ		थ	थ	
TH				ठ	ठो											
D								ड				ड				
DH											ढ					
N	ना		नो				नो	नो	नो	नो	नो		नो	नो	नो	
T	ता	ता	तो	ता	ता		ता	तो	तो	तो	तो		ता	तो	ता	ता

	०															
	D <sub>1</sub>	D <sub>2</sub>	D <sub>3</sub>	D <sub>4</sub>	D <sub>5</sub>	D <sub>6</sub>	D <sub>7</sub>	D <sub>8</sub>	D <sub>9</sub>	D <sub>10</sub>	D <sub>11</sub>	D <sub>12</sub>	D <sub>13</sub>	D <sub>14</sub>	D <sub>15</sub>	D <sub>16</sub>
TH		था										घा				षा
D	रो	दा		दा	दा	दो		दो	दा			दो	दा	दा	दो	दा
DH								त	ता				ता			ता
N	ना	ना	वा	मि	ना	नो		नो	नो	ना	ना	नो	ना	नो	नो	नो
P	पा			पा	पा			पा	पो		पे	पो		पा	पा	पा
PH																
B																
BH			डा		ता	ना	दा		दो	तो	दो	दो	दो	दा	ना	ना
M	मा	मा	या		मा	मा		मो	मा	मे	मे	मो	मा	मा		मो
Y	या	शा	या	या	रा	दो	या	यो	दो	यो	यो	यो	यो	या	या	या
R	रा	रा	रा		रो	रो		रो	रा	रो		रो	रो	रो	रा	रा
L	लो	ला	ला		लो	ला		लो	लो	लो		ला	ला	लो	ला	ला
V	वा			वा	वो	वा		वो		वो	वो	वो	वा	वा	वा	वा
S		डा	या	या	रा	रा		शो		रा	शो	सा				
SH	सा		सा					षो				षो				षा
S	सा		सा		सा	सा	सो		सा		सा	सो	सो		सो	सा
H								हो	हा	हो			हो		हा	हा



	Ru															
	D <sub>1</sub>	D <sub>2</sub>	D <sub>3</sub>	D <sub>4</sub>	D <sub>5</sub>	D <sub>6</sub>	D <sub>7</sub>	D <sub>8</sub>	D <sub>9</sub>	D <sub>10</sub>	D <sub>11</sub>	D <sub>12</sub>	D <sub>13</sub>	D <sub>14</sub>	D <sub>15</sub>	D <sub>16</sub>
Novel	उ											अ				
K					कौ	कौ		कौ		कौ		कौ				कौ
KH																
G	गौ	गौ	गौ					गौ				गौ				
GH																
Ṇ																
CH						चौ										
CHH																
J			जौ		जौ			जौ				जौ				
JH																
Ñ																
T						तौ										
ṬH			तौ													
D						दौ										
DH																
N	नौ		नौ	नौ	नौ											
T	तौ		तौ	तौ	तौ							तौ			तौ	तौ



LIGATURES															
	D <sub>1</sub>			D <sub>2</sub>			D <sub>3</sub>			D <sub>4</sub>					
K	KṬI	KRA	KSHA	KṬI	KRA	KSHAṆ	KṬRAṆ	KPRA	KRA	KLA	KCHA	KṬā	KRA	KSHA	
KH											Khyo				
G	GṬO	GḌAṆḌ	GṆAṆ	GṬA	GṆA		GḌHA	GṆA			GṆE	GṆA			
GH															
Ṇ	ṆKā	ṆGA		ṆKā	ṆGA		ṆKE	ṆGA	ṆSā		ṆKā	ṆGA			
CH	CHCHNA	CHYA		CHCHNA	CHYU		CHCHNA	CHCHNA	CHYA		CHCHNA				
CHH															
J	JṬA	JṆA	JYA	JṬA	JṆA	JRA	JṆA	JYA	JVA		JṆA	JYA	JRA	JVA	
JH															
Ṇ	ṆCHA	ṆJA		ṆJA			ṆCHA				ṆCHA	ṆCHNA			
T	TṬA			TṬA							TṬA				
TH															
D	DḌU						DḌA								
DH															
N	NḌA	NYA		NṬHA	NḌA	Nyo	NḌA	NYA			NḌA	NYA			
T	TṬA	TṆA	TYA	TṬA	TṆA	TVA	TṬA	TṆA	TYA		TṬA	TṆA	TYA	TṬA	



LIGATURES																
	D <sub>1</sub>				D <sub>2</sub>				D <sub>3</sub>				D <sub>4</sub>			
TH					THVI				THVI							
D	DGA	DGAH	DRA	DVI	DDHA	DGAH	DYA	DVA	DDHA	DDHAH	DYA	DVA	DDHA	DDHAH	DVA	
DH	DHYA	DHYA			DHYU				DHYA	DHYA						
N	NORA	NYAH	NVA	NSA	NTAH	NMAH	NHA	NVA	NTA	NORA	NVA	NSA	NTA	NGA	NMAH	NMA
P	PHA	PHYA	PA	PLA	PA				PTA	PHYA	PA	PSA	PTA	PKA	PVA	
PH																
B																
BH	BHYA								BHYA	BHYA			BHYAH			
M	MPRA	MBHA	MYA	MVA	MHA	MBHA	MVA	MVA	MBHA	MHA	MYA	MVA	MHA	MVA	MVA	MVA
Y																
R	RGAH	RMAH	RYA	RLA	RGAH	RMAH	RYA	RYA	RGAH	RMAH	RYA	RYA	RGAH	RMAH	RYA	
L	LGAH	LMAH	LYA	LLA	LGAH	LMAH	LYA		LGAH	LMAH	LYA	LYA	LGAH	LMAH	LYA	LLU
V	VGAH	VMAH	VYA		VGAH				VGAH				VGAH	VMAH	VYA	
S	SGAH	SGA	SYA		SGA	SYA			SGA	SYA	SGA	SYA	SGA	SYA	SYA	
SH	SHGA	SHMAH	SHYA	SHPA	SHGA	SHMAH	SHYA		SHGA	SHMAH	SHYA	SHYA				
S	STGA	SPA	SYA	SYA	STGA	SPA	SYA	SYA	STGA	SPA	SYA	SYA	STGA	SPA	SYA	SYA
H	HGAH	HMAH			HGAH				HGAH	HMAH			HGAH			





LIGATURES																	
	D <sub>5</sub>				D <sub>6</sub>				D <sub>7</sub>				D <sub>8</sub>				
TH													THV				
D	DDHA	DDHYAM	DYA	DYRAM	DHAI	DMA	DYA	DRA	DGHA	DRA			DDHA	DMA	DYA	DVA	
DH	DHYA	DHYA							DHYE	DHYA			DHYA	DHYA			
N	NTA	NDRAH	NMA		NKA	NTAM	NCHA	NMA	NTA	NMA	NMA		NTA	NDHA	NMA	NYA	
P	PTA	PRA	PLA		PRA				PTA	PRA			PTA	PYA	PRA		
PH																	
B													BHAI				
BH	BHYA				BHYA				BHYAM	BHRA			BHYAM	BHRA			
M	MBHAM	MYA	MVA		MNI	MYA	MRA		MYA				MNANI	MBHA	MYA	MVA	
Y																	
R	RNNAM	RDBHA	RMA	RYA	RJA	RYA	RSA	RNAN	RMA	RYA	RYA	RVA	RSHA	RPA	RMA	RYA	RSA
L	LPA	LYAM	LLA		LYA	LLA			LKA	LYA			LPA	LYA	LLA		
V	VYA	VRA	VVA		VJAH				VDH	VDHA	VYA	VRA	VJA	VRA			
S	SCHA	SRA	SVA		SCHA	SYA	SRA	SVA					SMA	SYA	SRA	SVA	
SH	SHTA	SHTA	SHVA		SHKA	SHTA	SHNA	SHYA	SHTI	SHTI			SHTA	SHTAM	SHVA		
S	SKA	STA	SMA	SVA	STA	STHA	SMA	SVA	SCHA	SKA	SYA	SVA	SKA	SPA	SMA	SYA	
H	HNA	HMA	HMA		HMA	HYA			HNA	HMA	HMA		HNA	HMA			



LIGATURES																
	D <sub>9</sub>				D <sub>10</sub>				D <sub>11</sub>				D <sub>12</sub>			
K	KTAṁ	KTYā	KPA	KRA	KTYā	Kyā	KRA	KTAṁ	KRA	KSMI	KYA	KSā	KSHA			
KH											KHYā					
G	GRA				GNA	GRā		GNAH	GRA		GDHA	GAMUH	GRA	GVA		
GH	GNAH										GNYā					
Ṇ																
CH	CHENHā				CHRA			CHCHNA			CHYA	CHCHNU				
CHH																
J	JNā				JYāṁ			JNā	JYA		JJA	JJē	JYA	JJA		
JH																
N																
T	TTā				TTA						TTā					
TH																
D																
DH																
N	NYā				NYāṁ			NDā	NYā		NYA					
T	TNA	TYA	Tvā	TSRāṁ	TPRA	TMA	TYā	Tvā	TTA	TPā	TPRA	Tvā	TNā	TPA	TMA	

PLATE 116

# LIGATURES

D<sub>9</sub>

D<sub>10</sub>

D<sub>11</sub>

D<sub>12</sub>

TH

THV

D

DH

N

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PH

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DRA

DVA

DOHA

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DVA

DOHA

Dyā

DVAM

DOHYAM

DBHA

DYAM

DVAN

DHYA

DHYA

DHYAM

DHYA

DHYA

DHYA

DHYA

NTYA

MYAM

NSA

NVAM

NTA

NYA

NVA

NTAH

NHA

MYAM

NDHU

MPRA

NMA

MYAM

PYA

PRĀ

PRA

PPU

PTA

PLA

PTA

PRA

PCHA

PTHA

PTA

PRA

BHYA

BHRA

BHYA

BHYA

BHRA

YYO

MHA

MPRA

MYAM

MYA

MHA

MMA

MYA

YYA

YYA

YVA

RTHA

RHRI

RMAAM

RYA

RKA

RGA

RYA

RSHA

RCHA

RMA

RYA

RVVA

RODHA

RMA

RYTA

LDAM

LYA

LYA

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SHTA

SHTHA

SHYA

SKA

STHA

SMA

SVĀ

STNI

SNĀ

SRA

SLA

STA

STHA

SMĀ

SVA

SKAM

STA

SPA

HMA

HRA

HRA

HMA

HMA

HVA





LIGATURES																
	D <sub>13</sub>				D <sub>14</sub>				D <sub>15</sub>				D <sub>16</sub>			
TH													था			
D	DDHA	DMA	DYAH	DRA	DGA	DYA	DRAM	DVA	DGA	DDHAM	DYA	DRA	DDA	DDHA	DYAH	DVA
DH	DHYA	DHYA			DHYA				DHYA							
N	NTA	NDRA	NGHA	NVA	NTA	NMA	NVA		NTA	NMA	NVA	NHA	NTA	MDA	NMA	NMA
P	PPA	PPA	PPA		PPA				PPA	PPA	PPA		PPA	PPA	PPA	
PH																
B																
BH	BHYAH				BHYA				BHYAH	BHRA			BHYA	BHRA		
M	MYA	MVA			MVA	MVA			MHA	MMA	MVA	MVA	MMA	MVA	MVA	
Y																
R	RTA	RDDHA	RYA	RSNA	RPPA	RAHA	RYA	RSNA	RTA	RMA	RYA	RSNA	RTA	RTA	RPA	RMA
L	LKYA	LGAH	LYA	LLA					LKAH	LYA	LLA		LMA	LYA	LLA	
V	VDA	VRA			VDA	VVA			VDA	VYA	VRA		VDA	VYA	VRA	
S	SCHA	SYA	SRA	SVA	SCHA	SLA			SCHA				SCHA	SVA		
SH	SHKA	SHMA	SHPA	SHYA	SHTA	SHTRA	SHTRA	SHYA	SHTRA	SHYA	SHMA	SHTA	SHYA	SHMA	SHYA	
S	SKA	STA	SNÄ	SVA	SCHA	STA	SMÄ	SVA	SKA	STA	SMA	SVA	STÄ	STNA	SMA	SYA
H	HMA	HRA	HVA		HNA	HMA			HMA							

**References for Plates 121-150**  
(12th Century)

Table	Inscription	Date in A.D.	Reference
E <sub>1</sub>	Bodh-Gayā inscription of Jayachchandra	119X	<i>IHQ</i> , V, Pl. f. p., 17.
E <sub>2</sub>	Khonāmukh plates of Dharmapāla	—	<i>KŚ</i> , Pls. f. p., 118 & b. pp. 122-23.
E <sub>3</sub>	Bhuvaneśvar inscription of Svapneśvara	—	<i>EI</i> , VI, Pl. f. p., 202.
E <sub>4</sub>	Kumauli plate of Govindachandra	1126	<i>EI</i> , IV, Pl. f. p., 100.
E <sub>5</sub>	Mahobā plates of Parmardi	1173	<i>EI</i> , XVI, Pl. f. p., 12.
E <sub>6</sub>	Sarakho Plates of Ratnadeva	1128	<i>CII</i> , IV, Pl. LXVII.
E <sub>7</sub>	Māllār inscription of Jājalla	1167	<i>CII</i> , IV, Pl. LXXIX.
E <sub>8</sub>	Sihāwā inscription of Kaṇa	1192	<i>EI</i> , IX, Pl. f. p., 186.
E <sub>9</sub>	Bhopāl plates of Udayavarmā	1199	<i>IA</i> , XVI, Pls. b. pp. 256-57.
E <sub>10</sub>	Pāldī inscription of Arisīmha	1116	<i>EI</i> , XXX, Pl. f. p., 10.
E <sub>11</sub>	Nāḍol inscription of Kīrtipāla	1161	<i>IA</i> , XL, Pls. b. pp. 144-45.
E <sub>12</sub>	Verāval inscription of Bhīma II	—	<i>EI</i> , XXXIII, Pl. f. p., 120.
E <sub>13</sub>	Kolhāpur plates of Gaṇḍarāditya	1126	<i>CII</i> , VI, Pls. C-CI.

E <sub>14</sub>	Kolhāpur inscription of Bhoja II	1190-93	<i>CII</i> , VI, Pl. CXIII.
E <sub>15</sub>	Asoge plates of Jayakeśi II	1133	<i>EI</i> , XXVI, Pls. b. pp. 308-09.
E <sub>16</sub>	Nīlaguṇḍ plates of Vikramāditya VI	1087 & 1123	<i>EI</i> , XII, Pls. b. pp. 152-53.



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TH	४	५	६	७		८	९					१०	११			१२
D	द	ड	ढ	ण	त	थ	द	ध	न	प	फ	ब	भ	म	य	र
DH	व	ॢ	ॣ	।	॥	०	१	२	३	४	५	६	७	८	९	१०
N	न	ॢ	ॣ	।	॥	०	१	२	३	४	५	६	७	८	९	१०
P	प	ॢ	ॣ	।	॥	०	१	२	३	४	५	६	७	८	९	१०
PH		ॢ	ॣ	।		॥			०		१		२		३	४
B						॥										
BH	न	ॢ	ॣ	।	॥	०	१	२	३	४	५	६	७	८	९	१०
M	म	ॢ	ॣ	।	॥	०	१	२	३	४	५	६	७	८	९	१०
Y	य	ॢ	ॣ	।	॥	०	१	२	३	४	५	६	७	८	९	१०
R	र	ॢ	ॣ	।	॥	०	१	२	३	४	५	६	७	८	९	१०
L	ल	ॢ	ॣ	।	॥	०	१	२	३	४	५	६	७	८	९	१०
V	व	ॢ	ॣ	।	॥	०	१	२	३	४	५	६	७	८	९	१०
S	श	ॢ	ॣ	।	॥	०	१	२	३	४	५	६	७	८	९	१०
SH	ष	ॢ	ॣ	।	॥	०	१	२	३	४	५	६	७	८	९	१०
S	स	ॢ	ॣ	।	॥	०	१	२	३	४	५	६	७	८	९	१०
H	ह	ॢ	ॣ	।	॥	०	१	२	३	४	५	६	७	८	९	१०



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TH		ॐ	या	वा	रा	वा		घा	शा	घा	झा	श	घा	शा	घा	वा
D	दा	दा	दा	रा	दा	दा	दा	दा	दा	दा	दा	दा	दा	दा	दा	दा
DH	वा	वा	वा	स	वा	वा	वा	वा	स	स	स	वा	वा	वा	वा	वा
N	ना	ना	ना	ना	ना	ना	ना	ना	ना	ना	ना	ना	ना	ना	ना	ना
P	पा	पा	पा	पा	पा	पा	पा	पा	पा	पा	पा	पा	पा	पा	पा	पा
PH																
B														फा	फा	
BH	ना		ना	ता	ना	ना	ता	ता	ता	ता	ता			ता	ता	
M	मा	मा	मा	मा	मा	मा		मा	मा	मा	मा	मा	मा	मा	मा	मा
Y	या	या	या	या	या	या	या	या	या	या	या	या	या	या	या	या
R	रा	रा	रा	रा	रा	रा	रा	रा	रा	रा	रा	रा	रा	रा	रा	रा
L	ला	ला	ला	ला	ला	ला	ला	ला		ला	ला	ला	ला	ला	ला	ला
V	वा	वा	वा	वा	वा	वा	वा	वा	वा	वा	वा	वा	वा	वा	वा	वा
S	षा	षा	षा	षा	षा	षा	षा	षा	षा	षा	षा	षा	षा	षा	षा	षा
SH		षा		षा	षा	षा		षा	षा		षा	षा				षा
S	सा	सा	सा	सा	सा	सा	सा	सा	सा	सा	सा	सा	सा	सा	सा	सा
H	दा	दा	दा	दा	दा	दा	दा	दा	दा	दा	दा		दा	दा	दा	दा

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TH		वृ	थ													वृ
D	दि	दृ	दि	दि	दि	दि	दि	दि	दि	दि	दि	दि	दि	दि	दि	दि
DH	धि	धृ	धि	धि	धि	धि	धि	धि	धि	धि	धि	धि	धि	धि	धि	धि
N	नि	नृ	नि	नि	नि	नि	नि	नि	नि	नि	नि	नि	नि	नि	नि	नि
P	पि		पि		पि	पि		पि	पि	पि	पि	पि	पि		पि	
PH																
B.														वृ		
BH	नि	नृ	नि	नि		नि	नि			नि	नि	नि	नि	नि	नि	नि
M	मि	मृ	मि	मि	मि	मि	मि	मि	मि	मि	मि	मि	मि	मि	मि	मि
Y			यि	यि	यि		यि	यि	यि		यि	यि	यि			यि
R	रि	रृ	रि	रि	रि	रि	रि	रि	रि	रि	रि	रि	रि	रि	रि	रि
L	लि	लृ	लि	लि	लि	लि	लि	लि	लि	लि	लि	लि	लि	लि	लि	लि
V	वि	वृ	वि	वि	वि	वि	वि	वि	वि		वि	वि	वि	वि	वि	वि
Ś	शि	शृ	शि	शि	शि		शि	शि				शि	शि	शि	शि	शि
SH			षि		षि	षि	षि		षि							
S	सि		सि	सि	सि	सि	सि	सि	सि		सि	सि	सि	सि	सि	सि
H		हि	हि	हि	हि	हि	हि	हि	हि		हि	हि		हि	हि	हि





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TH									धी							
D	दी	दी	दी	दी	दी	दी	दी		दी	दी	दी	दी	दी			दी
DH	धी		धी	धी			धी					धी	धी			
N	नी	नी	नी	नी	नी	नी	नी	नी	नी	नी	नी	नी	नी		नी	नी
P	पी	पी	पी	पी			पी		पी	पी						
PH																
B														बी		
BH	दी	दी		ती	नी	ती						ती				ती
M	मी	मी				मी	मी	मी	मी	मी						मी
Y			यी	ली	यी			ली								
R	री	री	री		री	री	री		री	री	री					री
L			ली	ली	ली		ली		ली	ली	ली		ली		ली	ली
V	वी		वी	वी	वी	वी	वी		वी	वी		वी	वी	वी	वी	वी
Ś	शी		शी	शी	शी				शी	शी	शी					शी
SH								षी								
S	सी	सी		सी	सी	सी	सी	सी	सी	सी	सी	सी	सी	सी	सी	सी
H	ही	ही	ही		ही	ही	ही	ही	ही	ही	ही		ही	ही	ही	ही

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VOWEL	उ	उ	उ	उ	उ	उ	उ	उ	उ	उ	उ	उ	उ	उ	उ	उ
K		क	क	क	क	क	क	क	क	क	क	क	क	क	क	क
KH		ख	ख									ख	ख			
G	ग	ग	ग	ग	ग	ग	ग		ग	ग	ग	ग	ग	ग	ग	ग
GH												घ				
Ṇ																
CH	च		च				च									च
CHH																
J		ज														ज
JH																
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T			ट		ट		ट					ट				ट
TH																
D													ड			
DH																
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T	त		त	त	त	त	त	त	त	त		त	त	त	त	त



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TH													ॐ			ॐ
D	ॠ	ॡ	ॢ	ॣ	।		॥		०			॥		॥		॥
DH	ॠ	ॡ	ॢ				॥		०	ॠ	ॡ		॥			॥
N		ॠ	ॡ	ॢ	ॣ	।	॥	०	ॠ	ॡ	ॢ		॥			॥
P	ॠ	ॡ	ॢ	ॣ	।	॥	०	ॠ	ॡ	ॢ	ॣ	।	॥	०	ॠ	ॡ
PH																
B																
BH	ॠ	ॡ	ॢ	ॣ	।	॥	०		ॠ	ॡ	ॢ	ॣ	।			॥
M		ॠ	ॡ	ॢ	ॣ	।	॥	०	ॠ	ॡ		ॢ	ॣ		॥	ॢ
Y	ॠ	ॡ	ॢ	ॣ		॥	०		ॠ	ॡ	ॢ		॥			॥
R	ॠ	ॡ	ॢ	ॣ	।	॥	०		ॠ	ॡ	ॢ	ॣ	।		॥	ॢ
L		ॠ	ॡ	ॢ										॥	ॢ	ॢ
V	ॠ					॥	०		॥						॥	॥
ś	ॠ			॥	॥		॥		॥				॥	॥	॥	॥
SH	ॠ		॥			॥			॥	॥	॥	॥	॥	॥		॥
S	ॠ	ॡ	ॢ	ॣ		॥	०	ॠ	ॡ	ॢ	ॣ	।	॥	०	ॠ	ॡ
H	ॠ	ॡ	ॢ	ॣ	।	॥	०	॥	ॠ	ॡ		ॢ				॥



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R																
	E <sub>1</sub>	E <sub>2</sub>	E <sub>3</sub>	E <sub>4</sub>	E <sub>5</sub>	E <sub>6</sub>	E <sub>7</sub>	E <sub>8</sub>	E <sub>9</sub>	E <sub>10</sub>	E <sub>11</sub>	E <sub>12</sub>	E <sub>13</sub>	E <sub>14</sub>	E <sub>15</sub>	E <sub>16</sub>
Vowel																
K	क	ख	ग	घ	ङ	च	छ	ज	झ	ञ	ट	ठ	ड		ढ	ण
KH																
G			ग	घ		ग		ग						ग	घ	
GH		ग						ग				ग	घ			
N																
CH																
CHH																
J	ज		झ													
JH																
Ñ																
T																
TH																
D																
DH																
N																
T		त	ठ	ड		त	ठ	ड	त		त					त

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TH																
D	ॐ											ॐ			ॐ	
DH			ॐ		ॐ											
N	ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ				ॐ ॐ ॐ				ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ			ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ			ॐ	
P	ॐ ॐ ॐ				ॐ ॐ			ॐ ॐ				ॐ		ॐ ॐ		
PH																
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BH		ॐ ॐ ॐ			ॐ ॐ ॐ			ॐ				ॐ			ॐ	
M			ॐ ॐ ॐ		ॐ									ॐ ॐ		
Y																
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V	ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ				ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ							ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ				
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S	ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ				ॐ										ॐ ॐ	
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VOWEL	उ	ॊ		ए	ॡ				ऋ	ॠ	ऌ	ॡ	ॢ	ॣ	।	॥
K	क	'क	कि	क्व		क	के	कै	क	क				के	क	क
KH													खे			(ख)
G							ग		ग					गे	ग	ग
GH			घ	घ			घे					घ				
N̄																
CH	च						चे						चे			स
CHH																
J			झ	झे		झ	झ		झ	झे					झ	झ
JH																
N̄																
T̄															ट	
T̄H																
D̄				ड		ड							डे	ड		
D̄H																
N	ल	'ल	ले	ले	ले	ले		लो	ल	ल		ल			ले	ल
T	र		त	त	त	त	त	ते	त	ते	त	त	ते	त	त	त



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TH																
D	२	३	८	९	६	७	८	९	६	७	८	९	६	७	८	९
DH		१	२				३						४			
N	म	न	व	ने	न	न	ने	न	ने	न	न	ने	न	न	न	न
P	य	४	५	६	७	८		९	८		९	८	९	६		७
PH		३														
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BH															८	९
M	म	न	व	ने	न	न	ने	न	ने	न	न	ने	न	न	न	न
Y	य	४	५	६	७	८	९	८	९	८	९	८	९	६	७	८
R	२	३	८	९	६	७	८	९	६	७	८	९	६	७	८	९
L	८	९	६	७	८	९	६	७	८	९	६	७	८	९	६	७
V		१	२	३	४	५	६	७	८	९	८	९	८	९	८	९
S	३	४	५	६	७	८	९				८	९	८	९		८
SH	३		६			७					८					
S	३		६	७	८		९	८		९		८	९	८	९	८
H	३	८	९	६	७	८	९			८	९		८	९	८	९

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Vowel																
K	का	का	का	को		को	का	को	का	को			को	का		का
KH		श												ख		
G		ग	गा	गो	गा	गा	गो		गा	गो			गो			गा
GH																
Ṇ																
CH	च		च				च							च	च	
CHH																
J		झ	झ	झो		झ	झो	झो		झो	झो		ओ	झ	झ	झ
JH																
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T										टो						
TH																
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ḌH			ढ							ढो						
N						ल	लो		ल	लो						लो
T	त	त	त	तो	त	त	त	तो	त	तो	त	त	तो	त	त	त

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TH	ठा				ठा	ठा			ठा		धो					घा
D		दा	दा	दो	दा	दा	दा		दा	दो			दो	दा	दा	
DH			दा								धा				धा	धा
N	ना	ना	ना	नो		नो	नो	नो	ना		ना	नो	ना	ना	ना	ना
P		पा					पो			तो	पो				पा	पा
PH					फा											
B																
BH			दा	नो	ता	ता	तो	तो	ता		तो		तो	नो	ता	ता
M	मा		मा		मा	मो	मा		मा		मा				मा	मा
Y	या	या	या	यो	ता	या	त्या	यो	दो	यो	यो	मा	तो	या	दो	रा
R	रा	रा	रा	रो		रा	रा	रो	रा	रो	रा	रा	रो	रा	रो	रा
L	ला	ला	ला	लो	ला	ला	लो	लो	ला	लो	लो	ला		नो	ला	ला
V		वा	वा	वो	वा	वा	वा	वो	वा	वो			वो			वा
Ś	श	श	श	शो	रा		श		श	शो	श		शो	शो	श	श
SH			षा	षो			षो									षा
S	सा		सा	सो		सा		सो	सो		सो	सा		सा	सा	सा
H	हा		हा			हा	हा		हा	हो	हा		हो		हा	

		AU															
		E <sub>1</sub>	E <sub>2</sub>	E <sub>3</sub>	E <sub>4</sub>	E <sub>5</sub>	E <sub>6</sub>	E <sub>7</sub>	E <sub>8</sub>	E <sub>9</sub>	E <sub>10</sub>	E <sub>11</sub>	E <sub>12</sub>	E <sub>13</sub>	E <sub>14</sub>	E <sub>15</sub>	E <sub>16</sub>
VOWEL																	ॐ
K		कौ	को							को				को			को
K <sub>H</sub>																	
G		गौ	गो		गो												
G <sub>H</sub>																	
Ṇ																	
CH		चौ															
CH <sub>H</sub>																	
J										जौ							
J <sub>H</sub>																	
Ñ																	
T																	
T <sub>H</sub>																	
D																	
D <sub>H</sub>																	
N				नौ	नो		नो			नो						नो	नो
T				तो	तो		तो			तो			तो			तो	तो





LIGATURES																
	E <sub>1</sub>				E <sub>2</sub>				E <sub>3</sub>				E <sub>4</sub>			
K	KTA कृ	KRA क	KSHĀ क्ष		KKE कू	KTI कि	KRE क्रे	KSHA क्ष	KTA कृ	KRA क	KVĀ कव	KSHĀ क्ष	KRA क	KSHA क्ष	KSHMĀ क्षम	
KH	KHYA कृ				KHYĀ कृ				KHYĀ कृ							
G	GINA गृ	GRĀ ग्रा	GVRĀ ग्व		GNI गि				GINĀ गृ	GRĀ ग्रा	GLA ग्ल	GVI ग्वि	GME गमे	GRA ग्रा		
GH																
Ṇ	ṆKA कू	ṆGA कू			ṆGA कू				ṆKA कू	ṆGA कू	ṆSĀ कू		ṆKHA कू	ṆGA कू		
CH	CHCHA चू	CHCHHA चू	CHYU चू		CHCHHA चू				CHCHA चू	CHCHHA चू	CHYU चू		CHCHHA चू			
CHH																
J	JTA जू	JVA जू	JNĀ जू		JTI जि	JNĀ जू	JYA जू	JVĀ जू	JTA जू	JYA जू	JVA जू		JTA जू	JNĀ जू	JYA जू	
JH																
Ṇ	ṆCHA कू				ṆCHA कू	ṆJA कू			ṆCHA कू	ṆCHHI कू						
T					TIA टि								TĀ टा			
TH																
D	DYA दू															
DH																
N	NDA दू				NDA दू	NVA दू			NTHA दू	NDA दू	NMA दू	NVĀ दू	NTHA दू	NDA दू	NVA दू	
T	TKA क	TMA क	TVA क	TTVA क	TMA क	TVA क	TRA क	TVI क	TKA क	TPA क	TVA क	TSA क	TKA क	TMA क	TRA क	

PLATE 144

# LIGATURES

E<sub>1</sub>

E<sub>2</sub>

E<sub>3</sub>

E<sub>4</sub>

TH

D

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BH

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H

DDHĀ

DGA

DBHĀ

DMA

DDHA

DBHA

DYA

DVA

DDHA

DMAH

DYA

DVA

DGA

DDHA

DBHA

DRA

DHYĀ

DHYA

DHYA

DHYA

DHYĀ

DHYA

NTA

NDRA

NDHO

NNA

NDHA

NNA

NMA

NYA

NTA

NTHĀ

NDRAH

NNA

NDRA

NDHA

NTA

NMA

PYĀ

PRĀ

PYA

PRĀ

PYA

PNE

PKA

PYA

PRĀ

BHYA

BHRA

BHYĀ

BHYA

BHYA

BHRA

MBHĀ

MBI

MNĀ

MPRĀ

MMA

MPA

MNĀ

MAHA

MVA

MNĀ

MAHAM

MVA

YYA

RJA

RYA

RVA

RSHA

RMA

RYA

RVA

RSHA

RDDHA

RTHA

RYA

RSĀ

RMAH

RYA

RVA

RSHA

LPA

LYA

LLI

LPAH

LPA

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LHĀ

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SHTHA

SHYAH

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SHMA

SHTHĀ

SHMA

STRAH

STHA

SNA

SYA

STRA

STHA

SYA

STRAH

SPA

SPHA

SVA

STA

STHA

SPA

SMĀ

HMA

HMA

HMA

HVA

HMA

HMA



LIGATURES																
	E <sub>5</sub>				E <sub>6</sub>				E <sub>7</sub>				E <sub>8</sub>			
K	K <sub>KU</sub>	K <sub>TI</sub>	K <sub>TYA</sub>	K <sub>KA</sub>	K <sub>KA</sub>	K <sub>KA</sub>	K <sub>SHA</sub>	K <sub>SHHA</sub>	K <sub>TI</sub>	K <sub>MA</sub>	K <sub>YA</sub>	K <sub>SHA</sub>	K <sub>KA</sub>	K <sub>SHI</sub>	K <sub>SHHA</sub>	
KH	K <sub>HYAH</sub>				K <sub>HYA</sub>				K <sub>HYAH</sub>							
G	G <sub>RA</sub>				G <sub>RI</sub>	G <sub>RA</sub>			G <sub>PHA</sub>	G <sub>RA</sub>	G <sub>VA</sub>		G <sub>NYA</sub>	G <sub>MU</sub>	G <sub>RA</sub>	
GH																
Ṇ	Ṇ <sub>KA</sub>	Ṇ <sub>GA</sub>							Ṇ <sub>KA</sub>	Ṇ <sub>GA</sub>						
CH					C <sub>CHHA</sub>	C <sub>CHHH</sub>	C <sub>HYA</sub>									
CHH																
J	J <sub>NA</sub>				J <sub>JA</sub>	J <sub>NA</sub>			J <sub>VA</sub>	J <sub>YAM</sub>	J <sub>VA</sub>		J <sub>JA</sub>	J <sub>YA</sub>	J <sub>NA</sub>	
JH																
Ṇ̄	Ṇ̄ <sub>CHA</sub>	Ṇ̄ <sub>JA</sub>							Ṇ̄ <sub>CHA</sub>							
T	T <sub>TA</sub>				T <sub>TA</sub>											
TH																
D																
DH																
N	N <sub>DA</sub>	N <sub>YA</sub>			N <sub>YA</sub>				N <sub>TA</sub>	N <sub>RA</sub>			N <sub>RA</sub>			
T	T <sub>KA</sub>	T <sub>TA</sub>	T <sub>PA</sub>	T <sub>SA</sub>	T <sub>KAM</sub>	T <sub>HA</sub>	T <sub>MA</sub>	T <sub>SA</sub>	T <sub>KA</sub>	T <sub>HA</sub>	T <sub>PA</sub>	T <sub>YA</sub>	T <sub>KAM</sub>	T <sub>PA</sub>	T <sub>YA</sub>	

LIGATURES																
	E <sub>5</sub>				E <sub>6</sub>				E <sub>7</sub>				E <sub>8</sub>			
TH	THVĪ				THVĪ											
D	DDHĀ	DBHI	DYA	DVA	DBHA	DMA	DRA	DVAM	DDĀ	DDHĀ	DYU	DVAM	DVAM			
DH	DHYĀ				DHYĀ	DHYA			DHYA	DHYA						
N	NTAH	NDRA	NDHA	NMA	NTA	NMA	NVA	NSA	NCHA	NDA	NDHU	NMA	NCHA	NTĀ	NYA	NSA
P	PRA				PRA				PĀ	PPĀ	PYA	PRA	PĀ	PYĀ		
PH																
B																
BH	BHYA	BHRĀ			BHYA				BHRA				BHYAM			
M	MMA	MYĀ	MRA	MVA	MVA				MHA	MCHĀ	MMA	MVA	MRA			
Y																
R	RKA	RDDHA	RMMĀ	RVVA	RCHA	RTHA	RYAH	RSHA	RCHĀ	RDDHA	RCHA	RYA	RCHĀ	RTHĀ	RPA	RSHA
L	LKĀ	LNE			LPA	LLĀ	LLYĀ		LPA	LYA	LLA		LLA			
V	VYA	VĀ			VRA				VDHI	VYĀ	VRA		VYĀ			
Ś	ŚCHA	ŚMA	ŚYAH	ŚRA	ŚCHA	ŚMA	ŚYA		ŚCHĀ	ŚYA	ŚLE	ŚVA	ŚCHA			
SH	SKA	SHTYA	SHĀ		SHTA	SHMA	SHYA		SHTĀ	SHTA	SHTĀ		SHTYAM			
S	SKA	STA	STHA	SYA	STA	SMA	SYA	SYA	STA	STHA	SPHĀ	SMA	STA	SMA	SLE	SYA
H	HYĀ	HĀ	HMA		HĀ	HMA	HYAM		HMA				HRA			



LIGATURES																
	E <sub>9</sub>				E <sub>10</sub>				E <sub>11</sub>				E <sub>12</sub>			
K	KTAM	KRA	KSHA	KSHA	KTā	KRA	KLā	KSHA	KTā	KPA	KRA	KSHA	KTO	KYA	KRA	KSHA
KH	KHYAM								KHYA				KHYAM			
G	GTA	GNI	GRā		GNRU	GMPU			GMO	GMAH	GRā		Gvā			
GH																
Ṇ					ṆGAH											
CH	CHCHA	CHCHH			CHCHH				CHCHH				CHCHA	CHCHH	CHYA	
CHH																
J	JTA	JTA	JYA		JTA	JYA			JTA	JYA			JTA	JYAH	JYA	
JH																
Ṇ					ṆJA											
T	TTA															
TH																
D																
DH																
N	NYA				NR	NYA			NYA				NYA			
T	TAA	TMA	TAA	TSA	TAA	TAA	TVAM	TSU	TYA	TAA	TVA	TSAM	TAA	TAA	TVA	TSA



LIGATURES																
	E <sub>9</sub>				E <sub>10</sub>				E <sub>11</sub>				E <sub>12</sub>			
TH					THVĀṁ थी								THYĀ थी			
D	DDHA द	DYA द	DRA द	DVA द	DDHA द	DBHA द	DRA द	DVAM दं	DDHAṁ दः	DYA द	DRA द	DVA द	DRA द	DVA द		
DH	DHYĀ धा				DHYĀ ध				DHYĀ धा							
N	NTA न	NMA न	NVA न	NSA न	NTA न	NNA न	NYA न	NRA न	NTAN नः				NNA न	Nmū न	NYE न	
P	PTA प	PYA प	PRA प	PLA प	PTA प	PYA प	PRĀ प		PTĀ प	PYA प	PRA प		PTA प	PRA प		
PH																
B									BDHA ब							
BH	BHYA भ	BHRA भ			BHYĀṁ भं				BHYĀṁ भं				BHRA भ			
M	MYA म	MVA म			MNĀ म								MPRA म	MYA म	MRĀ म	
Y									YYA य							
R	RGAH र्घ	RTNA र्घ	RMMA र्घ	RSHA र्घ	RMA र्घ	RTNA र्घ	RDPH र्घ	RMMA र्घ	RDPH र्घ	RTNAM र्घ	RYA र्घ	RSHAM र्घ	RTTAN र्घ	RTNA र्घ	RYA र्घ	RVVA र्घ
L	LPĀ ल	LYĀ ल	LLA ल		LKA ल	LYA ल	LLE ल		LBHĀ ल	LLA ल	LNA ल		LPAM ल	LLA ल		
V	VYA व	VRA व			VYA व	VRA व			VYĀ व				VRA व			
Ś	ŚCHA श्च	ŚNĀ श्च			ŚCHA श्च	ŚYO श्च	ŚRA श्च	ŚVA श्च	ŚRĀ श्च				ŚVA श्च			
SH	SHKAP श्र	SHTA श्र	SHYĀ श्र		SHTA श्र	SHYO श्र			SHTA श्रः	SHTAM श्र	SHYA श्र		SHTA श्र	SHTAM श्र	SHYA श्र	
S	STA स	SMA स	SYA स	SVA स	STA स	STHA स	SMĀ स	SVA स	STA स	SMA स	SMĀ स	SVA स	STA स	STRA स	SMA स	Syā स
H	HNĀ ह	HMA ह			HNĀ ह				HNĀ ह							

LIGATURES															
	E <sub>13</sub>			E <sub>14</sub>			E <sub>15</sub>			E <sub>16</sub>					
K	KRA	KLA	KSHĀ	KTĀ	KRA	KSHA	KTĀ	KYA	KRA	KSHA	KTĀ	KYA	KRA	KSHA	
KH	KHYĀ						KHYĀ				KHYĀ				
G	GNYA	GRA		GĀHĀ	GRA		GĀA				GVA	GNE	GVA	GĀHĀ	
GH											GHYĀ				
Ṇ							ṆĀ								
CH	CHCHU			CHCHĀ							CHCHĀ	CHYĀ			
CHH															
J	JTA	JYA		JYĀM			JTA	JMA	JYA		JMA	JYA	JYĀM		
JH															
Ṇ															
T	TĀH	TPRI		TĀ							TĀ				
TH															
D	DĀH										DĀ	DYA			
DH															
N	NĀI														
T	TYĀH	TRĀ	TVĀ	TSA	TĀ	TPRA	TRA	TSA	TĀ	TYA	TRA	TSA	TPA	TMA	TVĀM TSA



LIGATURES																
	E <sub>13</sub>				E <sub>14</sub>				E <sub>15</sub>				E <sub>16</sub>			
TH													THYAM	THV		
D	DDHĀ	DBHĀ	DVAM		DGRĀ	DDHĀ	DYĀ		DDHĀ	DBHU	DRA		DDHĀ	DDĀ	DBHĀ	DRA
DH	DHDHĀ	DHYE	DHVA		DHYA								DHYA	DHYA		
N	NTA	NMĀ	NYAM	NVA	NTA	NMA	NYA		MNA	NBHĀ	NYO	NVI	NTA	NMA	NMA	NVA
P	PTĀ	PPA	PYA	PRA	PPA	PYA	PRA		PTE	PRA			PRA	PTYĀ	PRA	PLAM
PH																
B					BRĀ											
BH	BHYAM				BHYAM				BHYA	BHKA			BHYAM			
M	MMA	MYA			MYAM				MLĀ				MMĀ	MLĀ		
Y	YYA												YYAM			
R	RTTA	RMA	RYAM	RSHA	RGGA	RTTA	RTHAM	RYVA	RTMA	RMA	RLA	RYA	RMA	RTHAM	RYA	RSHA
L	LPA	LLA			LGA	LYAM	LLA		LGA	LPA	LYE	LLĀ	LKA	LYA	LLAM	LVĀ
V	VDA	VDHA	VRA		VYĀ				VYA	VRA			VYAM	VRA		
Ś	ŚCHA	ŚYA	ŚVA		ŚVA				ŚCHA	ŚKA	ŚVA		ŚCHA	ŚKA	ŚVA	
SH	SHTA	SHTMĀ	SHTĀ		SHTA				SHTO	SHTMA	SHTA		SHTA	SHTA	SHTA	SHTA
S	STA	SYA	SYA	SSA	STE	SPNU	SYA	SRE	SKAM	STAM	SYA	SYA	SKAM	STA	SPA	SYA
H	HMA	HYO			HMA				HMA	HYA			HMA	HMA	HMA	



**References for Plates 151-162  
(13th Century)**

Table	Inscription	Date in A.D.	Reference
F <sub>1</sub>	Gayā inscription of the time of Sultan Muizzuddin (Ghori)	1200	<i>JBRS</i> , LII, Pl. VII.
F <sub>2</sub>	Ajayagaḍh inscription of Nāna	1288	<i>EI</i> , XXVIII, Pl. f. p., 102.
F <sub>3</sub>	Kūreṭhā plate of Malayavarmā	1220	<i>EI</i> , XXX, Pl. f. p., 148.
F <sub>4</sub>	Māndhātā plates of Jayasirṇha-Jayavarmā	1274	<i>EI</i> , XXXII, Pls. b. pp. 148-49, 150-51, 154-55 & f. p., 156.
F <sub>5</sub>	Kavālī Temple inscription of Hammīr	1288	<i>EI</i> , XIX, Pl. f. p., 50.
F <sub>6</sub>	Verāval inscription of Arjuna	1264	<i>EI</i> , XXXIV, Pl. f. p., 148.
F <sub>7</sub>	Kālegāon plates of Mahādeva	1260	<i>EI</i> , XXXII, Pls. b. pp. 38-39 & 42-43.
F <sub>8</sub>	Karṇāṭak plates of Vīra-Ballāla II	1204	<i>KI</i> , I, Pl. f. pp. 58, 60, 62 & 64.

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	F <sub>1</sub>	F <sub>2</sub>	F <sub>3</sub>	F <sub>4</sub>	F <sub>5</sub>	F <sub>6</sub>	F <sub>7</sub>	F <sub>8</sub>	F <sub>1</sub>	F <sub>2</sub>	F <sub>3</sub>	F <sub>4</sub>	F <sub>5</sub>	F <sub>6</sub>	F <sub>7</sub>	F <sub>8</sub>
	Vowels	अ	इ	उ	अ	अ	अ	अ	आ	आ	आ	आ	आ	आ	आ	आ
K		क	क	क	क	क	क	क	का	का	का	का	का	का	का	का
KH		ख	ख	ख	ख	ख	ख	ख	खा	खा	खा	खा	खा	खा	खा	खा
G		ग	ग	ग	ग	ग	ग	ग	गा	गा	गा	गा	गा	गा	गा	गा
GH			घ	घ	घ	घ	घ	घ	घा	घा	घा	घा	घा	घा	घा	घा
Ṇ																
CH		च	च	च	च	च	च	च	चा	चा	चा	चा	चा	चा	चा	चा
CHH					छ								छा			
J		ज	ज	ज	ज	ज	ज	ज	जा	जा	जा	जा	जा	जा	जा	जा
JH																
Ṇ																
T			ट	ट	ट	ट	ट	ट					टा			
TH		ठ	ठ	ठ	ठ	ठ	ठ	ठ					ठा			
D		ड	ड	ड	ड	ड	ड	ड					डा	डा	डा	डा
DH			ढ	ढ	ढ	ढ	ढ	ढ								
N		ण	ण	ण	ण	ण	ण	ण	णा	णा	णा	णा	णा	णा	णा	णा
T		त	त	त	त	त	त	त	ता	ता	ता	ता	ता	ता	ता	ता

	A								Ā							
	F <sub>1</sub>	F <sub>2</sub>	F <sub>3</sub>	F <sub>4</sub>	F <sub>5</sub>	F <sub>6</sub>	F <sub>7</sub>	F <sub>8</sub>	F <sub>1</sub>	F <sub>2</sub>	F <sub>3</sub>	F <sub>4</sub>	F <sub>5</sub>	F <sub>6</sub>	F <sub>7</sub>	F <sub>8</sub>
TH		थ	ठ	ड	थ	घ	घ	ध			झ	झ	था	वा	घा	
D	द	ट	द	द	द	व	द	द	दा	टा	दा	दा	दा	दा	दा	दा
DH	ध	ध	ध	ध	ध	ध	ध	ध		ध	ध	ध	ध	ध	ध	ध
N	न	न	न	न	न	न	न	न	ना	ना	ना	ना	ना	ना	ना	ना
P	प	प	प	प	प	प	प	प	पा	पा	पा	पा	पा	पा	पा	पा
PH		फ	फ	फ	फ		फ	फ	फा							
B							ब	ब							बा	बा
BH	भ	भ	भ	भ	भ	भ	भ	भ	भा		भा	भा	भा	भा	भा	भा
M	म	म	म	म	म	म	म	म	मा	मा	मा	मा	मा	मा	मा	मा
Y	य	य	य	य	य	य	य	य	या	या	या	या	या	या	या	या
R	र	र	र	र	र	र	र	र	रा	रा	रा	रा	रा	रा	रा	रा
L	ल	ल	ल	ल	ल	ल	ल	ल	ला	ला	ला	ला	ला	ला	ला	ला
V	व	व	व	व	व	व	व	व	वा	वा	वा	वा	वा	वा	वा	वा
Ś	श	श	श	श	श	श	श	श	शा	शा	शा	शा	शा	शा	शा	शा
SH		ष		ष	ष	ष	ष	ष		ष	ष	ष	ष	ष		ष
S	स	स	स	स	स	स	स	स	सा	सा	सा	सा	सा		सा	सा
H	ह	ह	ह	ह	ह	ह	ह	ह		हा	हा	हा	हा	हा	हा	हा



	I								I							
	F <sub>1</sub>	F <sub>2</sub>	F <sub>3</sub>	F <sub>4</sub>	F <sub>5</sub>	F <sub>6</sub>	F <sub>7</sub>	F <sub>8</sub>	F <sub>1</sub>	F <sub>2</sub>	F <sub>3</sub>	F <sub>4</sub>	F <sub>5</sub>	F <sub>6</sub>	F <sub>7</sub>	F <sub>8</sub>
VOWELS		ॠ	ॡ	ॢ	ॣ	।	॥									
K		कि	कि	कि	कि		कि		का	की		की	की	की	की	की
KH		खि	खि	खि			खि	खि	खी			खी				
G			गि	गि	गि	गि	गि	गि							गी	
GH																
Ṇ																
CH		चि		चि	चि	चि	चि	चि	ची			ची			ची	
CHH							छि									
J	जि	जि	जि	जि	जि	जि			जी	जी		जी	जी	जी	जी	जी
JH																
Ṇ																
T		टि		टि	टि		टि		टी							
ṬH		ठि		ठि								ठी				
D				डि	डि	डि			डी	डी						
DH																
N			णि	णि	णि	णि	णि	णि	णी	णी		णी	णी	णी	णी	णी
T	ति	ति	ति	ति	ति	ति	ति	ति	ती	ती	ती	ती	ती	ती	ती	ती

	I								II							
	F <sub>1</sub>	F <sub>2</sub>	F <sub>3</sub>	F <sub>4</sub>	F <sub>5</sub>	F <sub>6</sub>	F <sub>7</sub>	F <sub>8</sub>	F <sub>1</sub>	F <sub>2</sub>	F <sub>3</sub>	F <sub>4</sub>	F <sub>5</sub>	F <sub>6</sub>	F <sub>7</sub>	F <sub>8</sub>
TH		वि	वि	वि	वि		वि						धी			
D	दि	दि	दि	दि		दि	दि	दि	दी	दी	दी	दी	दी	दी	दी	दी
DH	धि	धि	धि	धि	धि	धि	धि	धि	धी		धी	धी	धी		धी	
N	नि	नि	नि	नि	नि	नि	नि	नि	नी	नी	नी		नी	नी	नी	नी
P		पि	पि	पि	पि	पि	पि		पी	पी	पी		पी			
PH																
B							बि									
BH	लि	लि	लि	लि	लि	लि	लि	लि	ली					ली	ली	ली
M		मि	मि	मि	मि	मि	मि	मि	मी		मी	मी	मी	मी	मी	मी
Y			यि	यि		यि	यि	यि			यी					
R		रि	रि	रि	रि	रि	रि	रि	री	री	री	री		री		
L		लि	लि	लि	लि	लि	लि	लि	ली	ली	ली	ली	ली	ली	ली	ली
V	वि	वि	वि	वि	वि	वि	वि	वि	वी	वी	वी	वी	वी	वी	वी	वी
Ś		शि	शि	शि			शि	शि				शी	शी	शी	शी	शी
SH		षि			षि		षि		षी							
S	सि	सि	सि		सि	सि	सि	सि	सी	सी		सी		सी	सी	सी
H	हि	हि	हि	हि	हि	हि	हि	हि	ही	ही	ही				ही	ही



	u								ū							
	F <sub>1</sub>	F <sub>2</sub>	F <sub>3</sub>	F <sub>4</sub>	F <sub>5</sub>	F <sub>6</sub>	F <sub>7</sub>	F <sub>8</sub>	F <sub>1</sub>	F <sub>2</sub>	F <sub>3</sub>	F <sub>4</sub>	F <sub>5</sub>	F <sub>6</sub>	F <sub>7</sub>	F <sub>8</sub>
Vowels		उ	उ	उ	उ	उ	उ	उ				ऊ				
K	कु	कु	कु	कु	कु	कु	कु	कु				कु	कु		कु	
KH				खु		खु	खु							खु		
G	गु	गु	गु	गु			गु	गु							गु	
GH																
Ṇ																
CH		चु										चु		चु		
CHH																
J				जु								जु				
JH																
Ṇ																
T		ट	ट													
TH																
D																
DH																
N																
T	त	त		त	त	त	त	त		त						



	u								ū							
	F <sub>1</sub>	F <sub>2</sub>	F <sub>3</sub>	F <sub>4</sub>	F <sub>5</sub>	F <sub>6</sub>	F <sub>7</sub>	F <sub>8</sub>	F <sub>1</sub>	F <sub>2</sub>	F <sub>3</sub>	F <sub>4</sub>	F <sub>5</sub>	F <sub>6</sub>	F <sub>7</sub>	F <sub>8</sub>
TH			ਥੁ	ਥੁ	ਥੁ											
D		ਡੁ	ਡੁ	ਡੁ	ਡੁ		ਡੁ	ਡੁ					ਡੁ		ਡੁ	
DM			ਢੁ	ਢੁ			ਢੁ	ਢੁ		ਢੁ	ਢੁ	ਢੁ			ਢੁ	
N		ਨੁ	ਨੁ	ਨੁ	ਨੁ		ਨੁ			ਨੁ	ਨੁ	ਨੁ	ਨੁ			ਨੁ
P	ਪੁ	ਪੁ	ਪੁ	ਪੁ	ਪੁ	ਪੁ	ਪੁ	ਪੁ	ਪੁ	ਪੁ	ਪੁ	ਪੁ	ਪੁ	ਪੁ	ਪੁ	ਪੁ
PH																
ਭ							ਭੁ									
BH		ਬੁ	ਬੁ	ਬੁ			ਬੁ			ਬੁ	ਬੁ	ਬੁ	ਬੁ	ਬੁ	ਬੁ	ਬੁ
M		ਮੁ		ਮੁ	ਮੁ	ਮੁ	ਮੁ	ਮੁ		ਮੁ	ਮੁ	ਮੁ		ਮੁ	ਮੁ	
Y		ਯੁ	ਯੁ	ਯੁ	ਯੁ		ਯੁ	ਯੁ								
R	ਰੁ	ਰੁ		ਰੁ	ਰੁ	ਰੁ	ਰੁ	ਰੁ		ਰੁ	ਰੁ		ਰੁ	ਰੁ	ਰੁ	
L		ਲੁ		ਲੁ	ਲੁ	ਲੁ	ਲੁ					ਲੁ		ਲੁ		ਲੁ
V		ਵੁ	ਵੁ	ਵੁ	ਵੁ							ਵੁ				
ś	ਸੁ	ਸੁ	ਸੁ	ਸੁ	ਸੁ	ਸੁ	ਸੁ	ਸੁ								ਸੁ
SH		ਸ਼ੁ		ਸ਼ੁ	ਸ਼ੁ	ਸ਼ੁ	ਸ਼ੁ	ਸ਼ੁ				ਸ਼ੁ				
S	ਸੁ	ਸੁ	ਸੁ	ਸੁ	ਸੁ	ਸੁ	ਸੁ	ਸੁ			ਸੁ	ਸੁ	ਸੁ	ਸੁ	ਸੁ	
H			ਹੁ		ਹੁ	ਹੁ	ਹੁ	ਹੁ								

	R								E							
	F <sub>1</sub>	F <sub>2</sub>	F <sub>3</sub>	F <sub>4</sub>	F <sub>5</sub>	F <sub>6</sub>	F <sub>7</sub>	F <sub>8</sub>	F <sub>1</sub>	F <sub>2</sub>	F <sub>3</sub>	F <sub>4</sub>	F <sub>5</sub>	F <sub>6</sub>	F <sub>7</sub>	F <sub>8</sub>
Vowels				अ			इ		ए		उ		॥	ए	व	
K	क	ख	ग	घ	ङ	च	छ	क	के	खे	गे	घे	ङे	चे	छे	
KH									ख	खे	खे	खे		ख	खे	
G			ग	ग	ग	ग	ग		ग	ग						गे
GH							घ									
Ṇ																
CH									च			च		च		
CHH																
J									ज	ज	ज	ज	ज	ज	ज	जे
JH																
Ṇ																
T									ट		ट		ट			
TH									ठ	ठ	ठ					
D											ड					डे
DH									ड							
N									ण	ण	ण	ण	ण	ण	ण	णे
T	ट	ट	ट	ट			ट		ते	ते	ते	ते	ते	ते	ते	ते



	ॠ								ॡ							
	F <sub>1</sub>	F <sub>2</sub>	F <sub>3</sub>	F <sub>4</sub>	F <sub>5</sub>	F <sub>6</sub>	F <sub>7</sub>	F <sub>8</sub>	F <sub>1</sub>	F <sub>2</sub>	F <sub>3</sub>	F <sub>4</sub>	F <sub>5</sub>	F <sub>6</sub>	F <sub>7</sub>	F <sub>8</sub>
TH												ॠ				
D		ॠ	ॡ	ॢ	ॣ		।	॥	०	ॡ	ॢ	ॣ	।	॥	०	ॡ
DH									ॠ		ॡ	ॢ	ॣ		।	
N	ॠ	ॡ	ॢ	ॣ	।	॥	०	ॡ	ॢ	ॣ	।	॥	०	ॡ	ॢ	ॣ
P		ॠ	ॡ	ॢ	ॣ		।		॥		ॠ	ॡ	ॢ	ॣ	।	॥
PH																
B																
BH		ॠ	ॡ	ॢ		ॣ	।	॥	०	ॡ	ॢ	ॣ		।		॥
M		ॠ		ॡ	ॢ		ॣ	।	॥	०	ॡ	ॢ	ॣ	।	॥	०
Y								॥	०	ॡ	ॢ	ॣ	।	॥	०	ॡ
R								॥	०	ॡ	ॢ	ॣ	।	॥	०	ॡ
L	ॠ							॥	०	ॡ	ॢ	ॣ	।	॥	०	ॡ
V		ॠ		ॡ	ॢ	ॣ	।	॥	०	ॡ	ॢ	ॣ	।	॥	०	ॡ
Ś								॥	०	ॡ	ॢ	ॣ	।	॥	०	ॡ
SH								॥	०	ॡ	ॢ	ॣ	।	॥	०	ॡ
S						॥				॥	०	ॡ	ॢ	ॣ	।	॥
H		ॠ		ॡ	ॢ	ॣ		।	॥	०	ॡ	ॢ	ॣ	।	॥	०



	ॠ								ॡ							
	F <sub>1</sub>	F <sub>2</sub>	F <sub>3</sub>	F <sub>4</sub>	F <sub>5</sub>	F <sub>6</sub>	F <sub>7</sub>	F <sub>8</sub>	F <sub>1</sub>	F <sub>2</sub>	F <sub>3</sub>	F <sub>4</sub>	F <sub>5</sub>	F <sub>6</sub>	F <sub>7</sub>	F <sub>8</sub>
VOWELS															ॐ	
K				कै	के				का	को	को	को			को	को
KH											खै	खे	खो			
G				गे				गो	गा		गो	गो			गो	गो
GH								घो								
Ṇ																
CH				चै		चि	चे									
CHH														छै		
J	जै		जि	जे		जे	जो			जो				जो		
JH																
Ṇ																
T											टै					टै
TH									ठै			ठै				
D											डै					
DH																
N			नै	ने				नो				नो		नो		
T			तै	ते	तै	ते	ते		ता	तो	ता	तो	ती	तो	ती	ते

	ॠ								ॡ							
	F <sub>1</sub>	F <sub>2</sub>	F <sub>3</sub>	F <sub>4</sub>	F <sub>5</sub>	F <sub>6</sub>	F <sub>7</sub>	F <sub>8</sub>	F <sub>1</sub>	F <sub>2</sub>	F <sub>3</sub>	F <sub>4</sub>	F <sub>5</sub>	F <sub>6</sub>	F <sub>7</sub>	F <sub>8</sub>
TH							ॠ				ॡ				ॢ	
D				ॠ		ॡ	ॢ	ॣ		।		॥	०	॥	॥	॥
DH											॥	॥				
N			॥	॥	॥		॥	॥		॥	॥	॥	॥	॥	॥	॥
P		॥		॥						॥		॥	॥		॥	॥
PH																
B															ॢ	
BH				॥							॥	॥	॥	॥	॥	॥
M		॥		॥			॥		॥	॥	॥	॥	॥	॥	॥	॥
Y				॥						॥	॥	॥	॥	॥	॥	॥
R		॥	॥	॥	॥		॥			॥	॥	॥	॥	॥	॥	
L				॥					॥	॥	॥	॥	॥	॥	॥	
V		॥		॥	॥		॥						॥	॥	॥	
Ś							॥	॥		॥	॥	॥	॥		॥	॥
SH							॥				॥				॥	
S				॥					॥	॥		॥	॥	॥	॥	॥
H					॥	॥				॥	॥	॥	॥	॥		॥

[illegible]



Au									LIGATURES								
	F <sub>1</sub>	F <sub>2</sub>	F <sub>3</sub>	F <sub>4</sub>	F <sub>5</sub>	F <sub>6</sub>	F <sub>7</sub>	F <sub>8</sub>	F <sub>1</sub>	F <sub>2</sub>	F <sub>3</sub>	F <sub>4</sub>	F <sub>5</sub>	F <sub>6</sub>	F <sub>7</sub>	F <sub>8</sub>	
TH				हो					थी	THY?		थी					
D	दो		दो	दै			दो	दि	दु	DDHE	DVA	DDHARṇ	DDHA	DMA	DPHA	DYA	DRAM
DH	धो		धे	धौ		धो	लें					DHNARṇ	DHYA	DHYA	DHYE	DHYA	DHYA
N	नो	नो	नो		नो		नो	व	व	NVA	NTA	NVA	NYARṇ			NMA	NAHA
P		पो	पो	पौ				प्र	प्र	PA	PTA	PTA	PA	PA	PR	PYA	PTA
PH																	
B														BDHA	BR		
BH	तो	तो			तो	तो			उ	त	उ	चः			चः	त्यं	
M	मो	मो	मो			मो			म	मा	MYA	MA	MYA	MINA		MYA	MYA
Y	यो											YYA			YYA		
R									र्म	र्म	र्क	र्ग	र्श	र्श	र्ग	र्म	
L		लो	लो	लौ		लौ			लु	लु	लु	ला	लु	लु	लु	लु	लु
V	वै								वृ	वा	VYA	VYA	VYA	VYA	VYA	VYA	VYA
Ś		सो				सो		स	स	ŚVA	ŚYA	ŚCHA	ŚVA	ŚMA	ŚVA	ŚRĀ	ŚVA
SH								ष	ष	SHKA	SHTA	SHKA	SHTA	SHTA	SHTA	SHNA	SHPA
S	सौ		सा		सा	सा		स	स	SVA	STA	SVA	SPA	STA	SPA	SKHA	STA
H								हे	ह	HRE	HMA	HMA	HMA	HYE	HYARṇ	HMA	

# 5

## Nāgarī in Manuscripts (11th–13th Century A.D.)

The development of monumental Nāgarī script has been dealt with in the preceding pages, but without involving the manuscript-Nāgarī. The subject would remain incomplete without considering that area. It is attested from the description of Tiruvālaṅgāḍu inscription,<sup>1</sup> and Kurud plates,<sup>2</sup> that engraving on hard surfaces like stone, metal, terracotta objects, was the secondary use of the writing. So, any generalisation on account of such engravings can have only a limited validity. The basic materials for popular writing were palm-leaf, birch-bark, cloth, and later paper, on which the real palaeographic studies should be based, because it is only here that the real and original hand of the writer is found.

John Guy refers that "Paper made its appearance around the 12th century but did not displace palm-leaf until the 14th century."<sup>3</sup> Before that, in general, palm-leaf and birch-bark were used for writing the manuscripts. Of these the birch-bark was frequently employed in the Himalayan territories where the birch trees grew, naturally while in other parts of the country palm-leaf was more common. The choice of the writing materials mainly depended on the availability of materials and nature of the work. So far as the nature of the work is concerned books, accounts, and ordinary correspondence



were written on perishable materials whereas important documents were incised on durable objects.

As regards the antiquity, a Bauddha tradition appraises of writing the canon on palm-leaves at the first Council held soon after the death of Buddha.<sup>4</sup> The Buddhist *Jātakas* also refer to *pañña* (*parṇa*, leaf) as a popular writing material,<sup>5</sup> which presumably represented palm-leaves. Hiuen-Tsiang (first half of the 7th Cent. A.D.) mentioned general use of palm-leaf as a writing material throughout the country.<sup>6</sup> In the 11th century, Al-Beruni also noticed that, "The Hindus have in the south of their country a slender tree like the date and cocoa-nut- palms, bearing edible fruits and leaves of the length one yard and as broad as three fingers one put besides the other. They call these leaves *tārī* (*tāla* or *tār*=*Borassus flabelli formis*), and write on them."<sup>7</sup>

Besides literary evidence, some of the earlier manuscripts have been discovered outside India. For example, the Horizui plam-leaf manuscript of the *Skanda-purāṇa* now kept in the Darbar Library at Kathamandu (Nepal) belongs to the 7th century A.D.<sup>8</sup> Some fragments of Godfrew collection from Kashgar belongs at least to the 4th century A.D., as attested by palaeography and so shown by Hoernle.<sup>9</sup> The Khotan copy of the *Prākṛit Dhammapad* is the earliest known birch-bark manuscript, belonging as it does to about the 2nd or 3rd century A.D.<sup>10</sup> But, despite this evidence for the early existence of the palm-leaf or birch-bark manuscript, no specimen has survived in India, due to several destructive agencies, negligent preservation, and climatic conditions, which can be dated definitely prior to the 10th century A.D. According to R. B. Pandey, "It should be observed that the early manuscripts on palm-leaves are found mostly in the cold and dry countries and parts of India. No manuscript of a date earlier than the fifteenth century A.D. is found in the south due to the hot and humid climate of that part of India."<sup>11</sup>

In daily use leaves in their natural form were used; while for writing out the important works the leaves were specially "prepared". They were first dried, then soaked or boiled in water for a considerable length of



time and again dried. The dried leaves were rubbed with conch, or cowrie-shells, or a smooth piece of stone and finally cut into folios of equal size. According to the length of folio, the writer or scribe divided it into two or three columns separated by narrow vertical margins. Generally, the external sides of the first and the last folios were left blank.

The earliest available manuscripts, in general, were written by two-sects —Bauddha and Jaina. The Buddhist tradition was prevalent in eastern India, chiefly in the provinces of Bihar and Bengal; while the Jaina tradition was widely spread in western India. Several religious complexes of these groups were established where among other things the task of copying and illustrating the manuscript was a part of the monastic activity. During the 12th century, the Muslim invaders razed to the ground and burnt down many religious and monastic establishments in U.P., Bihar and Bengal. As a consequence, the art of Buddhist manuscript illustration came to an abrupt end in Eastern India. The Jain tradition in Western India, however, escaped such misfortune and remained to develop in the subsequent centuries without any significant interruption.

The alphabet employed in the manuscripts of these two sects is Nāgarī. The manuscripts generally were written in North India, with pen and ink, while in the South the letters were incised on the leaves with a sharp-pointed needle and were made black by besmearing ink on the writing. As in the inscriptions so also in manuscripts, the Nāgarī unravels a process of development into the Bengālī script in Bihar and Bengal; and in Western India, a variant of Nāgarī, termed Jain-Nāgarī.

In the study of manuscript-Nāgarī one confronts some problems such as determining the provenance, date, etc. Manuscript writing was then a universal tradition. Document writers from time to time transcribed from older manuscripts in which, optionally, the same original date is repeated in the later copies. The later manuscript reveals a more advanced form of the alphabet on the basis of which the earlier may be discriminated. However, it was not impossible that the script of the same period shows different stages of development in the different geographical distributions. In these conditions it is not easy to sort out the alphabets of manuscripts

region and period-wise. One more problem confronts us with ancient manuscripts is their being written on palm-leaves or birch-bark. These are easily perishable materials, for which reason preservers generally do not provide for proper observations.

The manuscripts written in Nāgarī have come in a good number. But I am not able here to particularize all the characteristics, which needs a volume by itself. For our present purpose only some manuscripts have been selected for illustration and analytical elaborations. A comparative study of the letter forms in the manuscripts with the forms known from the inscriptions is also intended.

For the sake of palaeographic presentation the following published manuscripts have been selected:

1. Buddhist palm-leaf manuscripts (11th century A.D.).
2. Oghniryukti palm-leaf manuscript of A.D. 1060 (now preserved in the collection of the Jaina Trust, Jaisalmer).
3. Sri Bhagavatīsūtra palm-leaf manuscript of A.D. 1062 (written at Stambhatīrtha, Cambay).
4. Palm-leaf manuscript of A.D. 1118 (Jaina Trust, Jaisalmer).
5. Sārdha-śataka palm-leaf manuscript (c. A.D. 1125-50, Jaina Trust).
6. Karmastavaṭīkā palm-leaf manuscript of A.D. 1122 (BORI, Poona).
7. Jaina palm-leaf manuscript (c. 1275-1300, Jaina Trust).
8. Ṛisabhadevacharita of A.D. 1232, and
9. Mahāvīracharita of A.D. 1237 (Pāṭaṇ).

These manuscripts are arranged under eight groups according to period and region for analytical study of the palaeography.

### **Eleventh Century**

Table M<sub>1</sub> is derived from the illustrated Buddhist palm-leaf manuscripts of 11th century A.D. In comparing the alphabet in inscriptions, we observe,



however, that it resembles the Bodh-Gayā inscription of Jayachchandra of the last decade of 12th century A.D. (Plate 121 - 144 , Table E<sub>1</sub>). The bold notch-wedged head-mark and oblique edged form of the letters denote that the folios were written with a broad-edged pen.

As for the alphabet, most of the letters and medial signs attain their corresponding Nāgarī counterparts. Only initial *i*, *kha*, *tha*, *dha*, *pa*, *śa* and *sha* with medials *u* and *e* represent some distinguishing features from the usual form of Nāgarī. *I* occurs in peculiar roofed variety in which two vertical strokes falling from the upper horizontal line with an additional leftward curve in left stroke and in the lower two circles left one generally has a tail. In *kha*, left limb retains foot-marked shape in the place of developed tail. Lower curve of *tha* is slanted. The upper portion of *dha* is marked by blotted shape as well as with developed horn. *Pa* and *sha* bend their left arm as in Bengālī. *Śa* occurs in peculiar looped variety as appears in Bodh-Gayā inscription of Jayachchandra (Plate 122, Table E<sub>1</sub>). In the formation of medials *u* and *e*; local forms of wedged vertical and left stroke, which have seen in Bodh-Gayā inscription, are also present here.

Table M<sub>2</sub> is taken from the *Oghaniryukti* palm-leaf manuscript of A.D. 1060 (now in the collection of the Jaina Trust, Jaisalmer). The folios of the manuscript were written with a reed pen. Like inscriptions of the period, this manuscript also furnishes horizontally placed left notched form of *gha*, developing form of *cha*, and hornless *dha*. The peculiarity is marked in double looped *chha*, which with some differences became the common feature of Jaina-Nāgarī. Lower leftward prolongation in *ja* is shortened. *Bha* shows transitional phase with dropping left limb as in inscriptions. Other letters resemble the form of modern Nāgarī. Medial signs and ligatures also are of Nāgarī type and do not furnish any remarkable noteworthy feature except wedged vertical form of medial *u* which may be due to the eastern influence.

Table M<sub>3</sub> is derived from *Sri Bhagavaṃsūtra* palm-leaf manuscript of A.D. 1062 (written at Stambhatīrtha, modern Cambay). Here we find peculiarities in some letters. The horizontal and vertical joining strokes



[illegible]

	A								Ā							
	M <sub>1</sub>	M <sub>2</sub>	M <sub>3</sub>	M <sub>4</sub>	M <sub>5</sub>	M <sub>6</sub>	M <sub>7</sub>	M <sub>8</sub>	M <sub>1</sub>	M <sub>2</sub>	M <sub>3</sub>	M <sub>4</sub>	M <sub>5</sub>	M <sub>6</sub>	M <sub>7</sub>	M <sub>8</sub>
TH	थ			थ	थ		थ		था						था	
D	द	द	द	द	द	द	द	द	दा	दा	दा				दा	दा
DH	ध	ध	ध	ध	ध	ध	ध	ध	धा						धा	धा
N	न	न	न	न	न	न	न	न	ना	ना	ना	ना			ना	ना
P	प	प	प	प	प	प	प	प	पा	पा	पा				पा	पा
PH			फ													
B							ब									
BH	न	त	त	रु	रु	त	त	त	ना		ता		ता	ता	ता	ता
M	म	म	म	म	म	म	म	म	मा	मा	मा	मा			मा	मा
Y	य	य	य	य	य	य	य	य	या	या	या	या	या	या	या	या
R	र	र	र	र	र	र	र	र	रा		रा	रा	रा	रा	रा	रा
L	ल	ल	ल		ल	ल	ल	ल	ला		ला	ला			ला	ला
V	व	व	व	व	व	व	व	व	वा		वा	वा	वा	वा	वा	वा
Ś	श		श	श	श	श	श	श	शा		शा		शा	शा	शा	शा
SH	ष		ष			ष	ष	ष	षा		षा					षा
S	स	स	स	स	स	स	स	स	सा	सा	सा	सा	सा	सा	सा	सा
H	ह	ह	ह	ह	ह	ह	ह	ह	हा	हा	हा	हा	हा	हा	हा	हा



VOWELS	I								I							
	M <sub>1</sub>	M <sub>2</sub>	M <sub>3</sub>	M <sub>4</sub>	M <sub>5</sub>	M <sub>6</sub>	M <sub>7</sub>	M <sub>8</sub>	M <sub>1</sub>	M <sub>2</sub>	M <sub>3</sub>	M <sub>4</sub>	M <sub>5</sub>	M <sub>6</sub>	M <sub>7</sub>	M <sub>8</sub>
	ॐ		ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ							ई	ई
K			कि							की						
KH	खे	खि	खि		खि	खि	खि	खि								
G						गि	गि	गि		गी						
GH																
N																
CH	चि		चि		चि	चि	चि	चि								
CHH																
J	जि		जि		जि	जि	जि	जि	जी							
JH																
N																
T										टी						
TN																
D			डि	डि	डि	डि	डि									
DH																
N			नि	नि			नि	नि		नी	नी		नी	नी	नी	
T	ति		ति	ति	ति	ति	ति	ति	ती		ती	नी			ती	



	I								I							
	M <sub>1</sub>	M <sub>2</sub>	M <sub>3</sub>	M <sub>4</sub>	M <sub>5</sub>	M <sub>6</sub>	M <sub>7</sub>	M <sub>8</sub>	M <sub>1</sub>	M <sub>2</sub>	M <sub>3</sub>	M <sub>4</sub>	M <sub>5</sub>	M <sub>6</sub>	M <sub>7</sub>	M <sub>8</sub>
TH							धि								शी	
D	दि	दि	दि		दि	दि	दि	दि	दी	दी	दी	दी	दी	दी	दी	
DH						धि	धि	धि		धि						
N	नि	नि	नि	नि	नि	नि	नि	नि	नी		नी		नी			नी
P	पि		पि			पि		पि	पी							पी
PH																
B																
BH	लि		लि	लि	लि			लि	ली				ली			ली
M	मि		मि	मि	मि	मि	मि	मि							मी	मी
Y	यि							यि								
R	रि	रि		रि	रि	रि	रि	रि			री				री	री
L	लि	लि	लि		लि	लि	लि	लि								ली
V	वि		वि	वि	वि	वि	वि	वि	वी	वी	वी	वी	वी		वी	वी
S			शि		शि		शि								शी	
SH	धि		धि													
S	सि		सि	सि		सि	सि	सि			सी					
H	हि	हि	हि	हि	हि	हि	हि	हि	दी						ही	

11th-13th CENTURY A.D.

Plat PLATE 167

[illegible]

	U								U							
	M <sub>1</sub>	M <sub>2</sub>	M <sub>3</sub>	M <sub>4</sub>	M <sub>5</sub>	M <sub>6</sub>	M <sub>7</sub>	M <sub>8</sub>	M <sub>1</sub>	M <sub>2</sub>	M <sub>3</sub>	M <sub>4</sub>	M <sub>5</sub>	M <sub>6</sub>	M <sub>7</sub>	M <sub>8</sub>
TH																
D			ड		ड		ड	रू								
DH					ड	ड	ड									रू
N	न	न			न	न										
P	प		प	प	प	प	प	प		प				प	प	प
PH																
B																
BH		न		रू		रू	रू		रू	रू	रू	रू			रू	रू
M	म	म	म		म	म	म	म								
Y	य				य		य		य							
R	रू	रू	रू	रू		रू	रू	रू								
L	ल		ल													
V	व		व	व												
Ś			श		श	श	श	श								
SH	श								श							
S		स	स	स	स	स	स	स		स	स		स		स	स
H			ह		ह								ह			



	Rr								E							
	M <sub>1</sub>	M <sub>2</sub>	M <sub>3</sub>	M <sub>4</sub>	M <sub>5</sub>	M <sub>6</sub>	M <sub>7</sub>	M <sub>8</sub>	M <sub>1</sub>	M <sub>2</sub>	M <sub>3</sub>	M <sub>4</sub>	M <sub>5</sub>	M <sub>6</sub>	M <sub>7</sub>	M <sub>8</sub>
VOWELS									ए			ए		ए	ए	
K	क	ख		क		क			क			क		क	क	
KH												ख	ख		ख	
G													ग		ग	ग
GH														घ		
Ṇ																
CH															च	
CHH																
J												झ		झ	झ	
JH																
Ṇ																
T																
TH																ठ
D															ड	
DH																
N									ण		ण			ण	ण	
T									त	त	त	त			त	त

11th-13th CENTURY A.D.

p PLATE 170

	R								E							
	M <sub>1</sub>	M <sub>2</sub>	M <sub>3</sub>	M <sub>4</sub>	M <sub>5</sub>	M <sub>6</sub>	M <sub>7</sub>	M <sub>8</sub>	M <sub>1</sub>	M <sub>2</sub>	M <sub>3</sub>	M <sub>4</sub>	M <sub>5</sub>	M <sub>6</sub>	M <sub>7</sub>	M <sub>8</sub>
TH															ਥ	
D	ੲ					ੲ			ੲ		ੲ			ੲ	ੲ	ੲ
DH											ੲ		ੲ			ਥ
N							ੲ							ਨ	ਨ	ਨ
P							ੲ						ੲ			
PH																
B																
BH								ਬੁ				ਲ				
M	ਸ਼ੁ								ਸ਼ੁ	ਸ਼ੁ	ਸ਼ੁ	ਸ਼ੁ	ਸ਼ੁ	ਸ਼ੁ	ਸ਼ੁ	ਸ਼ੁ
Y										ਲ	ਲ		ਲ		ਲ	ਲ
R									ੲ	ੲ	ੲ	ੲ	ੲ	ੲ	ੲ	ੲ
L									ਲੁ	ਲ	ਲ	ਲ	ਲ		ਲ	ਲ
V		ਵੁ		ਵੁ	ਵੁ	ਵੁ	ਵੁ					ਵ		ਵ	ਵ	
Ś														ਸ਼	ਸ਼	ਸ਼
SH											ਸ਼ੇ					
S														ਸ		
H										ਹਿ	ਹੁ		ਹਿ	ਹੇ	ਹਿ	

with left curve in *a* and *ā* are shortened or disappear. *I* retains its old double dots and one curve shape. In *u*, a knob appears at the upper end of lower curve which becomes the common variety of Jaina-Nāgarī. Rare *au* is found in a peculiar variety which looks like headless initial *a* with an additional upright stroke at the left curve.

Among consonants *ja* occurs in modern Nāgarī shape, while the inscriptions of 12th century A.D. generally show the transitional phase of the letter. The diverging features from the usual Nāgarī are marked in *chha* and *ṭha*. Both represent their shape as in Jaina-Nāgarī. *Gha* still retains its left notched shape horizontally. *Dha* is yet to develop its upper oblique. *Pha* is of modern Nāgarī variety with only the difference of crooked right appendage instead of modern curve. Here, the shape of *ya* is more angularized than in the inscriptions or in the manuscripts of other regions. *Bha* retains its broader archaic shape. Other consonants occur in their matured Nāgarī shapes. Ligatures *ksha*, *chchha* and *jña* represent distinctive features as in Jaina-Nāgarī. Subscript *tha* retains its oval shape.

## Twelfth Century

The development in alphabets during the 12th century A.D. is illustrated in Table M<sub>4</sub> which is derived from the palm-leaf manuscript of A.D. 1118 (now preserved in the collection of the Jaina Trust, Jaisalmer). Most of the letters and medial signs are found in their modern Nāgarī shapes. Even the left portion of *gha* shows a process of vertically placed notched form. But at the same time archaism is retained in some letters such as *ta*, *na* and *bha* with their broader or cursive form. *Dha* is yet to develop its upper horn like shape. *I* still retains its old dots and curved shape. In ligatures, *ksha* draws the attention which is formed by adding *ñ* like shape to the left of the letter *ka*.

Table M<sub>5</sub> is derived from the Sārdha-śataka palm-leaf manuscript (c. A.D. 1125-50), now preserved in the collection of Jaina Trust, Jaisalmer). We come across developed form of Nāgarī alphabet in these folios. The



new innovation which occurs here is the shape of initial *i* which resembles the letter in modern Nāgarī only with the difference of lower detached hook, while in the inscriptions of the period it is in old or transitional shape. *Chha* and *ja* furnish peculiar Jaina-Nāgarī shape. *Dha* develops an oblique stroke at its upper angle. Medial signs and ligatures are as usual in the inscriptions.

Table M<sub>6</sub> is taken from the Karmastavaṭikā palm-leaf manuscript (by Govinda Gani dated A.D. 1122). This represents a typical example of Jaina-Nāgarī. Initial *u* and *o* show Jaina-Nāgarī features. In both the letters upper end of lower curve are in broader shape. As for *o*, it is formed by adding an upright stroke to the form of initial *u*. Among other initial vowels *a* represents the same feature as in the Śrī Bhagavatīśūtra manuscript (Table M<sub>3</sub>) of the preceding period. *I* shows transitional phase by adding two circles with an angular mark and turning lower curve to the right. Among consonants left portion of *cha* is in triangular shape in the place of developed one. *Chha* and *ja* are found in their peculiar Jaina-Nāgarī shape. *Dha* preserves its upper oblique stroke. Other letters are in developed and usual Nāgarī shapes. Among ligatures, a peculiar variety of medial *u* is found in *npu* and *pyu*. Here the *u* medial sign has been attached in the middle of the vertical in place of the lower end. Such type of typical symbols are occasionally found only in Jaina-manuscripts. Other signs are as usual.

### Thirteenth Century

Table M<sub>7</sub> is derived from Jaina palm-leaf manuscript (c. 1275-1300, now preserved in the collection of the Jaina Trust, Jaisalmer). As for initial vowels, the advanced and modern looking forms of *a*, *ā*, *i*, *ī*, *u*, *ū* and *e* are found in these folios in which top of *i* is flattened and curve of *u* is knobbed like peculiar Jaina-Nāgarī. In the manuscripts lower leftward stroke in *a* is retained while in inscriptions generally it has disappeared. As for consonants, left notched shape of *gha* is still horizontally placed. *Chha*, *ja*, *ṭha* and *bha* diverge from the usual Nāgarī and furnish peculiar

shape of Jaina-Nāgarī. *Ba* is denoted by separate and modern looking sign. Other letters have also attained their modern Nāgarī counterparts. Medials are as usual in that period. In ligatures, *ksha*, *Chchha*, and *jña* represent their peculiar Jaina-Nāgarī character.

Table M<sub>8</sub> is taken from the palm-leaf manuscripts of *Ṛisabhadeva-charitra* (mss. dated A.D. 1232) and *Mahāvīracharitra* (by Hemachandra Sūri, mss. dated A.D. 1237). These manuscripts are preserved now in Saṅghavīnā Bhaṇḍār Pāṭaṇ. The folios of these manuscripts are written with a broad edged pen, peculiar handling of which makes for a distinctive appearance of the alphabet. As far as development of individual letters is concerned except *gha*, *cha* and *bha*, all of them have attained their Nāgarī counterparts in which *chha*, *ja* and *ṭha* are denoted by their peculiar Jaina-Nāgarī shapes. Optionally, the usual Nāgarī form of *ja* is also found in these folios. Among ligatures, *jña* is of modern looking variety. Medials *ā*, *i*, *ī*, *u*, *ū* and *ṛi* resemble with modern Nāgarī signs. Others, *e*, *ai*, *o* and *au* are represented by modern top-stroke signs along with the perpendicular mark of that period.

### General Remarks

It is clear from the illustrations that the developments in a alphabet first take place in manuscripts and engraved forms follow the trait. At the same time it is also evident that for writing the conventional or royal works, a standard form of an alphabet was employed while in daily writing newer forms were emerging, due to continuous use, personal mannerisms, and several other reasons, as in modern times.

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  6. Beal. S., *Si-u-ki.*, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, vol. II, p., 225.
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39. Dasavaikalikatika: A.D. 1269, CMPB, 135, No. 204.
40. Vasupujyacharitra: A.D. 1270, CMJB, 24, No. 210.
41. Uttaradhyayansutra: A.D. 1275, No. 3 of 1880-81, BORI.
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**References for Plates 163-174**  
(11th-13th Century)

Table	Manuscript	Date in A.D.	Reference
M <sub>1</sub>	Buddhist palm-leaf	11th Century	<i>The World of Indian Miniatures</i> , Fig. 1, f. p., 40; <i>Indian Painting</i> , Figs. on pp. 81 & 85; <i>Panorama of Indian Painting</i> , Figs. b., pp. 10-11.
M <sub>2</sub>	Oghaniryukti palm-leaf	1060	<i>Masterpieces of Jaina Painting</i> , p., 36, No. 3.
M <sub>3</sub>	Sri Bhagavaṭsūtra palm-leaf	1062	<i>Jaina Paintings</i> , vol. I, Pl. 5, Figs. 13-16.
M <sub>4</sub>	Palm-leaf	1118	<i>Masterpieces of Jain Painting</i> , p., 28, No. 5.
M <sub>5</sub>	Sārdhaśatak palm-leaf	c. 1125-50	<i>Masterpieces of Jain Painting</i> , p., 36, No. 4.
M <sub>6</sub>	Karmastavaṭīkā palm-leaf	1112	<i>ABORI</i> , XXXVI, f. p., 217, (leaf 145b).
M <sub>7</sub>	Palm-leaf	c. 1275-1300	<i>Masterpieces of Jain Painting</i> , pp. 40-41, No. 19.



M <sub>8</sub>	Ṛisabhadevacharitra	1232	<i>Jain Paintings</i> , I, Pl. 12, Figs. 34-36.
	Mahāvīracharitra	1237	<i>Jain Paintings</i> , I, Pl. 16, Figs. 51-54.

# 6

## Numerals and Other Signs

### Signs for Numerals

Like alphabets, the Indian numeral also reveals a history of gradual evolution. In ancient times, before the 10th century A.D. numeral notations were denoted in two ways - letter numerals and numerical figures of the decimal system. In letter numerals separate signs are used for the units, tens, hundreds and thousands. Other composite numbers are represented by the combination of units with tens, hundreds and thousands. This type of notation was employed exclusively up to the later part of the 6th century A.D. and thereafter sporadically survived alongside the decimal system till the 10th century A.D. Very useful researches on the letter-numerals have been done by E. Thomas,<sup>1</sup> E. Clive Bayley,<sup>2</sup> Bhau Daji,<sup>3</sup> H.R. Kapadia,<sup>4</sup> Bhagawanlal Indrajī,<sup>5</sup> G. Bühler,<sup>6</sup> G.S. Ojha,<sup>7</sup> Awadhesh Narain Singh,<sup>8</sup> Sobhana Laxaman Gokhale,<sup>9</sup> and recently Om Prakash Lal Srivastava.<sup>10</sup>

The modern system of using nine unit figures and zero for all purposes of notation and calculation, arranged in decimal order seems to be of a later period. To the best of our knowledge, the earliest epigraphic instance of the use of the decimal notation is the Gūrjjara inscriptions from Sāṅkheḍā of Chedi year 346 (A.D. 595).<sup>11</sup> The object of the present chapter is not

to deal with the typology, old and new, of the numerals but to trace the history of evolution of Nāgarī numerals. For the present purpose I have prepared three numerical Plates out of which Plate 175 (Tables N<sub>1</sub> to N<sub>15</sub>) is derived from the inscriptions of the 6th-8th centuries, Plate 176 (Tables N<sub>16</sub> to N<sub>31</sub>) from the 9th-10th centuries and Plate 177 (Tables N<sub>32</sub> to N<sub>47</sub>) from the period between the 11th and the 13th centuries.

Here I do not wish to enter into the controversy of numerals being evolved with the letter forms or independent symbols, but have taken the general resemblance of the numeral signs with the letters of the period.

### **Sign for Zero**

The sign of zero, in Teruṇḍia Plate of Śubhakar: A.D. 704 (Table N<sub>3</sub>) is represented as a dot. It is evident from literary sources that the sign of zero was drawn by a dot in the earlier period.<sup>12</sup> Tables N<sub>4</sub> and N<sub>5</sub>, derived from Purushottampur and Daultābād plates, show an open circle or hook like sign. From the 9th century, it becomes circular in shape as in modern times.

### **Sign for One**

The numeral 1 is denoted by a horizontally placed stroke (Pl. 175, Tables N<sub>2</sub> & N<sub>15</sub>), or curve (Table N<sub>7</sub>) and continues till 8th century A.D. From the 9th century, curve is vertically drawn. In further developmental stage a hook (Table N<sub>16</sub>), a knob (Table N<sub>26</sub>), or a small circle (Tables N<sub>27</sub>, N<sub>30</sub>, N<sub>31</sub>) is added to the top of it. These forms are continued till 13th century. Out of them, small circular variety is accepted in modern Nāgarī.

### **Sign for Two**

Two parallel horizontal lines occur for the numeral 2 in Tipperāh Grant of Lokanāth (Table N<sub>2</sub>). In the next developmental stage (Table N<sub>6</sub>), both horizontal stroke are joined by a third cursive stroke. This numeral notation attains modern shape during the 9th century A.D. in which a slanting stroke is attached to the upper half-circle.



### Sign for Three

The Dadhimaī-mātā inscription of the time of Dhruhlaṇa (A.D. 608; Table N<sub>9</sub>) indicates the use of old form of numeral notation 3 which is formed with three parallel horizontal lines. In the first developmental stage (Table N<sub>10</sub>) right tip of the upper two bars slant to meet with the lower bar, which is extended to the right. The further developmental stage (Table N<sub>11</sub>) shows a form in which the right tip of both upper bars became cursive by which three limbs joined with each other. Finally, from the 9th century, upper two lines are shortened and form almost a double curved shape and a slanted tail is attached at the lower extremity. This form is retained in Nāgarī.

### Sign for Four

Two different types of numeral signs are found for 4 till the 9th century A.D. A sign like letter *ka* was the shape for four in the Mauryan period. Later on, an upward open curve was added to the left of it which looked like the ligature *pka*. In the 7th century curve turns to open right and looks like ligature *ika* (Table N<sub>9</sub>). The continuation of the letter numeral in the 9th century is marked by Javakheḍ plate of Amoghavarsha (A.D. 820; Table N<sub>28</sub>) where it is formed with *ka* like shape with a stroke to the left of the head-mark. However, the Nāgarī form of this numeral is also noticed as early as the Dhinaki plate of Jāikadeva of A.D. 738?<sup>13</sup> (Table N<sub>13</sub>). The modern form gains more currency from the 9th century.

### Sign for Five

Several signs are employed for the numeral 5. This notation is not shown in the Mauryan Brāhmī. From the time of the Kushāṇap till third century it is denoted by *a* like letter form. *Nā*, or *tri* like letter form is the common variety of it during the fourth-fifth centuries. Later on, *a* like form of it developed into *hu* like mark in the Kailan plate (Table N<sub>1</sub>), *ha* like in Dighwā-Dubauī plate (Table N<sub>24</sub>). *Tri* like shape of it grew into the form of *Tyā* in Madhuban (M<sub>8</sub>) and Barāh plates (N<sub>22</sub>). In Tipperāh plate (Table N<sub>2</sub>) it is denoted by a leftward hooked shape with an additional small stroke in the middle of the vertical line. In the Kusumā inscription

(N<sub>10</sub>) it is represented as an upward hooked shape with a knob at the upper end. A righthward hooked shape is employed for this sign in the Gayā epigraph of the time of Sultān Muizzudin (Table N<sub>33</sub>). However, in general, this notation is denoted by the letter *ja*, where the head-mark disappears. Jodhpur inscription of Bāuk (A.D. 837; Table N<sub>21</sub>) represents a transitional shape formed by an upward opened curve with notched left limb. The next developmental stage is marked by Jodhpur grant of Simhārāja (A.D. 997; Table N<sub>27</sub>), where the right limb forms a straight line; but left limb still is notched. Finally, the right limb became straight and the left one cursive (Tables N<sub>25</sub>, N<sub>26</sub>, N<sub>39</sub>, N<sub>40</sub>, N<sub>42</sub>, N<sub>46</sub>). From this form modern Nāgarī shape evolved in course of time.

### Sign for Six

The earlier specimens frequently show the form of *ja* for the numeral notation 6. Thereafter in Madhuban plate of Harsha (Table N<sub>8</sub>) it is shown by the letter *da* or *drā*. Sāmangadh (Table N<sub>14</sub>) and Chicācole (N<sub>18</sub>) plates reveal a phase of developing the modern sign, represented as a curve with a slanted stroke. In further developmental stage (Table N<sub>23</sub>) upper curve is turned to right and lower slanted stroke develops into a hook shape. Finally, both limbs of the vertical become cursive with a vertical tail (Tables N<sub>40</sub> & N<sub>47</sub>). However, this developed form continued in use from the 10th century. Alongwith the developed sign, peculiar headless *da* like letter-form of the numeral 6 is noticed even in the 11th century (Table N<sub>44</sub>).

### Sign for Seven

In tracing the development of Nāgarī numeral 7 we observe that it was shown by a downward curve in the earlier periods. In developing stages, the right limb of the curve extends downward (Table N<sub>14</sub>), progressively turned to left in various degrees (N<sub>35</sub>, N<sub>36</sub>, N<sub>46</sub>) and finally prolongs upwards (N<sub>37</sub>, N<sub>42</sub>). Side by side with these developed marks other forms are also noticed such as a leftward double curved shape like incipient mark of the numeral 3 (Tables N<sub>20</sub> & N<sub>25</sub>), a hooked shape with a notch in right limb and a head-line (Table N<sub>34</sub>) and a double curved shape in



11th-13th CENTURY A.D.

PLATE 171

	R								O							
	M <sub>1</sub>	M <sub>2</sub>	M <sub>3</sub>	M <sub>4</sub>	M <sub>5</sub>	M <sub>6</sub>	M <sub>7</sub>	M <sub>8</sub>	M <sub>1</sub>	M <sub>2</sub>	M <sub>3</sub>	M <sub>4</sub>	M <sub>5</sub>	M <sub>6</sub>	M <sub>7</sub>	M <sub>8</sub>
VOWELS														उ		
K									का	का	का				का	का
KH																
G											गा	जा		गा	गा	गा
G <sub>H</sub>														घा		
N																
CH						ते	दि								चा	
CHH																
J			डि				डि				डा				डा	
JH																
N																
T																
T <sub>H</sub>																डा
D																
D <sub>H</sub>																
N								णि				ला	ला		ला	
T				ति	ति			ति	ता	ता	ला	ता	ता	ता	ता	ता



	A								O							
	M <sub>1</sub>	M <sub>2</sub>	M <sub>3</sub>	M <sub>4</sub>	M <sub>5</sub>	M <sub>6</sub>	M <sub>7</sub>	M <sub>8</sub>	M <sub>1</sub>	M <sub>2</sub>	M <sub>3</sub>	M <sub>4</sub>	M <sub>5</sub>	M <sub>6</sub>	M <sub>7</sub>	M <sub>8</sub>
TH							वे				व्या				व्या	
D								दा			दा	दा			दा	दा
DH						वे								व्या		
N		नि								ना					ना	नो
P														पा	पा	
PH																
B															बा	
BH							लि		ला					ला	ला	लो
M	मे							म		मा	मा		मा	मा	मा	
Y										या			या	या	या	
R		रि					रि	रा		रा		रा		रा	रो	
L										ला				ला	ला	
V							वे							वो	वा	वा
Ś			शे		शे	शि	श्री					शा		शा	शा	
SH																
S											सो			सा	सा	
H										हा				हा		

	Au								LIGATURES							
	M <sub>1</sub>	M <sub>2</sub>	M <sub>3</sub>	M <sub>4</sub>	M <sub>5</sub>	M <sub>6</sub>	M <sub>7</sub>	M <sub>8</sub>	M <sub>1</sub>	M <sub>2</sub>	M <sub>3</sub>	M <sub>4</sub>	M <sub>5</sub>	M <sub>6</sub>	M <sub>7</sub>	M <sub>8</sub>
Vowel			अ													
K				को					KSHA	KTYA	KSHA	KSHA	KTA	KTAH	KSHA	KSHA
KH										KHYA	KHYA			KHYA	KHYA	KHYA
G										GRA					GMA	GMA
GH																
N																
CH									CHCHHA		CHCHHA	CHCHHA	CHCHHA	CHCHHA	CHCHHA	CHCHHA
CHH																
J									JHA		JHA	JHA	JHA	JHA	JHA	JHA
JH																
Ṇ																
T																
TH																
D																
DH																
N									NYA	NTNA				NYA		NYA
T				तो				तो	TMA		TPA	TPA		TMA	TPA	TPA

Au									LIGATURES								
	M <sub>1</sub>	M <sub>2</sub>	M <sub>3</sub>	M <sub>4</sub>	M <sub>5</sub>	M <sub>6</sub>	M <sub>7</sub>	M <sub>8</sub>	M <sub>1</sub>	M <sub>2</sub>	M <sub>3</sub>	M <sub>4</sub>	M <sub>5</sub>	M <sub>6</sub>	M <sub>7</sub>	M <sub>8</sub>	
TH																	
D									DDHA	DBHŪ	DVA		DDHA	DVYĀ	DMA	DVI	
DH								वि	DHYA	व					DHYA	DHYĀ	
N								ता	NDA	NDA	NTĀ			NPU	PPA		
P									PRA	PRA	PRA	PTĀ	PRA	PYU			
PH									य	य	उ	सा	प	फ़			
B																	
BH						लो		लो					BHYA			भ्या	
M								मो			म्या	म्या	म्या	म्या		म्या	
Y																	
R		रो							RINA	रि	रि	रि	RTHA	RTHA	RTHA	रि	
L	लो										ल्या	ल्या	ल्या			ल्या	
V			वि	वि					VYA	VYA			VYA	VYA			
Ś									ŚCHA	ŚRI	ŚVA		ŚVA			ŚCHA	
SH									SHYĀ		SHPA		SHYA	SHYĀ	SHYA	SHYĀ	
S		सा						सा	SMA	STNA	STNA	SWA	SPHU	SYA		STA	
H																	



which either upper curve to right and lower to left (Table N<sub>38</sub>) or upper curve to left and lower to right (Tables N<sub>43</sub> and N<sub>44</sub>).

### Sign for Eight

The numeral 8 is denoted by initial vowel *u* like letter in Bodh-Gayā inscription (Table N<sub>5</sub>), *bha* like in Guhil grants (Table N<sub>12</sub>), *da* like in Daultābād plate (Table N<sub>15</sub>), *vra* like in Jodhpur inscription (Table N<sub>21</sub>) and *hrā* like form in Bengāl Asiatic Society's plate (Table N<sub>24</sub>). To trace the developmental stages of modern Nāgarī form, we find that it is represented as a rightward curve in Table N<sub>4</sub>. In the next developmental stage the upper portion become flattened with a downward slanted stroke (Table N<sub>23</sub>). Further, lower slant transforms into a rightward curve (Tables N<sub>37</sub> & N<sub>39</sub>). Finally, upper flat line protrudes to the left (Tables N<sub>35</sub>, N<sub>40</sub>). This shape is still employed in Nāgarī. As for other signs, one horizontal line with two falling strokes is the shape in Gujarāt (N<sub>28</sub>) and Chinchni (N<sub>29</sub>) plates, rightwards peculiar notched with curly extremity in Kūreṭha plate (Table N<sub>34</sub>), leftward double curved shape in Ṭhāṇā plates (N<sub>44</sub>) and leftward hooked shape in Bassein inscription (Table N<sub>45</sub>).

### Sign for Nine

The numeral 9 is represented by a leftward curve with notch in earlier period. Letter *ra* is the shape for it in Bodh Gayā inscription (Table N<sub>5</sub>), *jya* in Nālandā (N<sub>16</sub>) and Peṭṭasar Grant (N<sub>17</sub>) and *u* in Bengāl Asiatic Society's Plate (Table N<sub>24</sub>). In later period generally two signs are employed for this numeral: (i) leftward hooked shape with a circle at the upper end and (ii) double curved shape. Second shape furnished numerous sub-varieties which can be best understood by the illustrations shown in Plates 176 & 177. Of these sub-varieties, Konī inscription (Table N<sub>37</sub>) reveals developed features with both curves turning to right. From this shape modern Nāgarī form evolved in due course.

### Sign for Ten

A separate sign is employed for the numeral notation 10, in old specimens. The letter *ma* with its open mouth turned to right is the shape for ten in earlier stages. Progressively, the left loop mouth opened and upper arm

of the right curve transforms into a straight vertical and shows different forms which look like *ṇṭa* and found in Tipperāh grant (Table N<sub>2</sub>). A peculiar sign occurs in Chaṇḍeśvara plates (Table N<sub>4</sub>). The *ya* like letter appears in the Maṅgarāon (Table N<sub>6</sub>) and Dadhimaṭī-mātā inscriptions (Table N<sub>9</sub>). In Āhar (N<sub>23</sub>) and Dighwā-Dubaulī plates (N<sub>24</sub>) it is represented by *lṛi* like letter-form. From the 10th century decimal system becomes the regular feature where numeral one comes to the left of zero.

### Sign for Twenty

The numeral 20 retains old *tha* like letter form in Tipperāh (Table N<sub>2</sub>), Bānskherā (N<sub>7</sub>) and Madhuban copper-plates (N<sub>8</sub>).

### Sign for Forty

*Pta* like letter-form is the shape of numeral 40 in the Guhil inscriptions (Table N<sub>12</sub>).

### Sign for Fifty

In all developmental stages 50 is indicated by a curve open to right as shown in Table N<sub>24</sub> (Dighwā-Dubaulī plate).

### Sign for Sixty

An angle with its apex downwards is the shape of 60 in earlier period which developed in due course and takes *pu* like letter form in the Bodh-Gayā inscription (Table N<sub>5</sub>).

### Sign for Seventy

In Kushāṇa period a cross-bar or *pna* like letter form is employed for 70 which developed into *ṇka* like mark in later period as shown in Table N<sub>17</sub> (Peṭṭasar grant).

### Sign for Eighty

The numeral 80 is denoted by a circle with a full breadth vertical line in the middle in earlier period. In Dadhimaṭī-mātā inscription flat line with two upright triangle is the shape of it. In the Bengāl Asiatic Society's plate (Table N<sub>24</sub>) an upward open curved with inner bent extremities is the shape of the numeral.

### Sign for Ninety

In earlier period 90 is indicated by a circle with cross mark in the middle. One horizontally slanted with three upright and one crossed slanted line was the shape of it in Kusumā inscription (Table N<sub>10</sub>), Barāh plate (N<sub>22</sub>) furnishes a different sign of the numeral which is formed by rightward hooked slants with the numeral 2 like mark in the right portion.

### Sign for Hundred

The *su* or *a* like letter form was rarely and generally a vertical hooked with notched top employed for 100 in earlier period. Later on, in Teruṇḍia plate of Śubhakar (Table N<sub>3</sub>) it is denoted by letter *lu*.

### Sign for Two Hundred

The numeral 200 is represented by adding the sign of two in the form of hundred. Nāgarī letter *lā* like combination is shown in Bodh-Gayā inscription (Table N<sub>5</sub>), while signs for *sa* and 2 are combined in Dadhimatī-mātā inscription (N<sub>9</sub>) and *sā* in Peṭṭasar grant (N<sub>17</sub>).

### Sign for Six Hundred

The sign for letter *sa* is combined with the sign for six to denote 600 in Kusumā inscription (Table N<sub>10</sub>).

### Sign for Seven Hundred

In Sāmolī inscription (Table N<sub>11</sub>) letter *srā* for hundred mark is combined with hooked seven mark for the numeral 700.

### Sign for Eight Hundred

Barāh plate (Table N<sub>22</sub>) shows *srā* like letter combined with the sign for eight makes the numeral notation of 800.

### Sign for Nine Hundred

The numeral 900 is denoted by the combination of *srā* and the sign for nine in Dighwā-Dubaulī plate (Table N<sub>24</sub>) while it is a bit different in Bengāl Asiatic Society's plate (N<sub>24</sub>), but the basic principle is the same.



## Other Signs and Symbols

In inscriptions and manuscripts several signs and symbols are to be found from very ancient times. Very often we are not sure about the phonetic or symbolic value of these signs. Some scholars read the signs found in the beginning of the epigraphs as *Siddham* and others prefer to read them as sign for *Om*. Here we have recorded some such signs and symbols found in the beginning, middle and at the end of the epigraphs and manuscripts for illustration.

### Signs for *Om* (Plate 178, A)

Generally, Indian epigraphs and manuscripts begin with an auspicious symbol which is recognised as *Om*. This syllable does not occur in the *Rig veda* and the *Atharvaveda*,<sup>14</sup> but is found in the Vedic rituals where it is mentioned as universe.<sup>15</sup> It is also stated there that, in the sound *Om* there are three *aksharas* *a*, *u*, *m*.<sup>16</sup>

The sound *Om* is expressed by a symbol. The symbolic representation is, in general, drawn as a curl or spiral, turning either to the left or right. It may be a conventional representation of the sacred *śaṅkha* or conch shell. As J.J. Boeles states: "We must presume that the curious curl on which the *Om* maṅgala is based must have derived from the old vowel, *O*, known from Bühler's alphabets."<sup>17</sup>

Dani<sup>18</sup> has arranged *Om* signs under three formal groups: North Indian, West Indian and South Indian. But his South Indian forms are also noticed in Rajasthan, for example his fourth form is met with in Dhulev and fifth in the Vasantgaḍh inscriptions. The North Indian second form is met with in the Sāmangadh inscription from Maharashtra. Here an attempt has been made to present various clearly noticeable varieties of this sign under four groups:

- (i) leftward spiral forms,
- (ii) rightwards spiral forms,
- (iii) rare forms and
- (iv) evolution of modern form.

### Signs for *Jihvāmūlīya* and *Upadhamānīya* (Plate, 178 B & C)

The illustrated forms of *Jihvāmūlīya* are taken from Guhil, Lakkhāmaṇḍal and Jhālrapāṭaṇ inscriptions; and the forms of *Upadhamānīya* from Guhil (A.D. 653), Vasantgaḍh, Bānskherā, Lakkhāmaṇḍal and Guhil (A.D. 688) inscriptions. Of these, the first is represented by a symbol looking like superscript *v* joined with *ka*; and second by two circles, or above opened curly ended semicircle, or lower bended horn shaped, placed above the letter *pa*.

### Signs for Punctuation, Etc. (Plate 178, D)

It is generally averred that the various modern signs of punctuation—namely comma, inverted comma, dash, colon, semi colon, full stop, sign of interrogation, sign of exclamation, several kinds of brackets, etc., were not employed in ancient inscriptions and manuscripts. It is true to some extent. During the earliest period only straight, or curved single stroke was sporadically used for denoting the punctuation mark. In later period a *daṇḍa*, or stroke is drawn to mark the completion of a sentence or a hemistich of a verse and two *daṇḍas*, or strokes to indicate completion of a verse.

Some maṅgalas and ornamental signs are also drawn in the later portion; or at the end of the inscriptions. A very common sign of this description is a large circle with a smaller one in side.

### Notes and References

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2. "On the Genealogy of modern Numerals," *JRAS*, N.S. XIV, pp. 335-76 & Plates.
3. "The ancient Sanskrit Numerals in the Cave Inscriptions and on the Sāh-coins, correctly made out; with Remarks on the Era of Śālivāhana and Vikramāditya," *JBBRAS*, VIII, pp. 225-33 & Pl.
4. "Foliation of Jaina Manuscripts and Letter-Numerals," *ABORI*, XVIII, pp. 171-86 & Pls.
5. "On the ancient Nāgarī Numerals," *IA*, VI, pp. 42-48, & Pls.

6. *Indian.*, pp. 96-107, & Pl.
7. *Bhāratīya.*, pp. 102-27 & Pls.
8. "On the Evolution of Alphabetic Numerals in India," *JUPHS*, VII, Pt. I (1934), pp. 42-53.
9. *Indian Numerals*, Poona, 1966.
10. *Uttar Bhārat me Añko kā Vikās* (Hindi), Varanasi, 1986.
11. Dhruva, H.H., *EI*, II, pp. 19-20, Pl. f., p., 20.
12. Cf., *Sūnyabindava iva vilikhitāḥ*, Subandhu's *Vāsavadattā*, (c. early 6th Cent. A.D.), Varanasi, 1967, p., 168.
13. Majumdar, R.C., *The Classical Age*, Bombay, 1962. The genuineness of this record has been doubted.
14. Keith, A.B., *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, 1917, vol. IX, p., 490.
15. *Māṇḍūkya Upanishad*, I.
16. *Maitrāyaṇa Upanishad*, 6.3
17. "The Migration of the Magic Syllable Om," *India Antiqua*, Leyden, 1947, p., 44.
18. *Indian.*, Fig. 15b.



**References for Plate 175**  
(6th-8th Century)

Table	Numeral	Inscription	Date in A.D.	Reference
N <sub>1</sub>	2, 3, 5	Kailan plate of Sṛīdhāraṇa	—	<i>IHQ</i> , XXIII, Pl. f. p., 237.
N <sub>2</sub>	1, 2, 5, 7, 9, 10, 20	Tipperāh grant of Lokanātha	—	<i>EI</i> , XV, Pls. b. pp. 308-09.
N <sub>3</sub>	0, 100	Teruṇḍia plate of Subhakara II	706	<i>EI</i> , XXVIII, Pls. b. pp. 214-15.
N <sub>4</sub>	0, 8	Purushottampur plates of Mādhavavarmā II	—	<i>EI</i> , XXX, Pls. b. pp. 266-67.
N <sub>5</sub>	8, 9, 60, 200	Bodh-Gayā inscrip- tion of Mahānāma	588	<i>IA</i> , XV, Pl. f. p., 358.
N <sub>6</sub>	2, 7, 10	Maṅgarāon inscrip- tion of the reign of Viṣṇugupta	—	<i>JBRS</i> , XXX, Pl. f. p., 201.
N <sub>7</sub>	1, 2, 20	Bānskherā plate of Harsha	628	<i>EI</i> , IV, Pl. f. p., 210.
N <sub>8</sub>	5, 6, 20	Madhuban plate of Harsha	631	<i>EI</i> , VII, Pl. f. p., 158.
N <sub>9</sub>	3, 4, 9, 10, 80, 200	Dadhimatī-mātā in- scription of the time of Dhruhlaṇa	608	<i>EI</i> , XI, Pl. f. p., 304.
N <sub>10</sub>	3, 5, 90, 600	Kusumā inscription	636	<i>EI</i> , XXXVI, Pl. f. p., 48.

N <sub>11</sub>	3, 700	Sāmoli inscription of the time of Śilāditya	646	<i>EI</i> , XX, Pl. f. p., 99.
N <sub>12</sub>	8, 40	Two grants of early Guhilas	654 & 689	<i>EI</i> , XXXIV, Pls. b. pp. 172-73 & 174- 75.
N <sub>13</sub>	4, 7, 9	Dhinaki plate of Jāikadeva	738	<i>IA</i> , XII, Pls. b. pp. 154-55.
N <sub>14</sub>	5, 6, 7	Sāmangadh plates of Dantidurga	753	<i>IA</i> , XI, Pls. b. pp. 110-11 & 112-13.
N <sub>15</sub>	0, 1, 5, 7, 8	Daultābād plates of Śaṅkaragaṇa	793	<i>EI</i> , IX, Pls. b. pp. 196-97 & f. p., 198.

	N <sub>1</sub>	N <sub>2</sub>	N <sub>3</sub>	N <sub>4</sub>	N <sub>5</sub>	N <sub>6</sub>	N <sub>7</sub>	N <sub>8</sub>	N <sub>9</sub>	N <sub>10</sub>	N <sub>11</sub>	N <sub>12</sub>	N <sub>13</sub>	N <sub>14</sub>	N <sub>15</sub>
0			॰	ॐ											०
1		ॠ					ॡ								ॠ
2	ॢ	ॣ				।	॥								
3	॥			०॥					॥	॥	॥				
4									॥				॥		
5	॥	॥						॥		॥				॥	॥
6								॥						॥	
7		॥				॥							॥	॥	॥
8				॥	॥							॥			॥
9		॥			॥				॥				॥		
		॥ <sup>10</sup>	॥ <sup>100</sup>	॥ <sup>10</sup>	॥ <sup>60</sup>	॥ <sup>10</sup>	॥ <sup>20</sup>	॥ <sup>20</sup>	॥ <sup>10</sup>	॥ <sup>90</sup>	॥ <sup>700</sup>	॥ <sup>40</sup>			
		॥ <sup>20</sup>			॥ <sup>200</sup>				॥ <sup>80</sup>	॥ <sup>600</sup>					
									॥ <sup>200</sup>						

## NUMERALS



### References for Plate 176 (9th-10th Century)

Table	Numeral	Inscription	Date in A.D.	Reference
N <sub>16</sub>	3, 9	Nālandā plates of Devapāla	—	<i>EI</i> , XVII, Pls. b. pp. 320-21.
	1, 2	Mungir plates of Devapāla	—	<i>EI</i> , XVIII, Pls. b. pp. 304 & 306.
N <sub>17</sub>	9, 70, 200	Pettasar grant of Netṭabhañja	—	<i>EI</i> , XXVII, Pls. b. pp. 338-39.
N <sub>18</sub>	0, 1, 2, 4, 5, 6	Chicācole plates of Madhu- Kāvarṇṇadeva	923	<i>JBORS</i> , XVIII, Pls. b. pp. 294-95.
N <sub>19</sub>	1, 2, 5	Pāṇḍukeśvar plate of Lalitāsura	854	<i>EI</i> , XXXI, Pl. f. p., 280.
N <sub>20</sub>	0, 1, 7, 9	Dewal Praśasti of Lalla	—	<i>EI</i> , I, Pl. f. p., 76.
N <sub>21</sub>	4, 5, 8, 9	Jodhpur inscription of Bāuk	837	<i>EI</i> , XVIII, Pl. f. p., 96.
N <sub>22</sub>	3, 5, 90, 800	Barāh plate of Bhoja	836	<i>EI</i> , XIX, Pl. f. p., 18.
N <sub>23</sub>	1 to 10	Āhar inscription of the time of Bhoja	865	<i>EI</i> , XIX, Pl. f. p., 60.
N <sub>24</sub>	5, 10, 50 900	Dighwā-Dubaulī plate of Mahendrapāla	898	<i>IA</i> , XV, Pl. f. p., 112.

	8, 9, 80, 900	Bengāl Asiatic Society's plate of Vināyakapāla	931	IA, XV, Pl. f. p., 140.
N <sub>25</sub>	3, 5, 9	Karitalāi inscription of Lakshmaṇa I	840	CII, IV, Pl. XXXA.
	2, 4, 7	Chandrehe inscrip- tion of Prabod- hasiva	973	CII, IV, Pl. XXXIV.
N <sub>26</sub>	0, 1, 3	Two Harasol grants of Siyaka	—	EI, XIX, Pls. b. pp. 242-43.
	2, 5, 6	An odd plate of Siyaka	969	EI, XIX, Pl. f. p., 178.
N <sub>27</sub>	2, 8, 9	Puśkar inscription of Durgarāja	925 & 937	EI, XXXV, Pl. f. p., 242
	0, 1, 3	Thanwala inscrip- tion of the time of Simharāja	956	EI, XXXV, Pl. f. p., 243.
	4, 5	Jodhpur fragmen- tary grant of Simharāja	997	EI, XXXVI, Pl. f. p., 46.
N <sub>28</sub>	2, 4	Javakheḍ plates of Amoghavarsha	820	EI, XXXII, Pls. b. pp. 130-31, 132-33 & f. p., 134.
	7, 8, 9	Gujarāt plates of Dantivarmā	867	EI, VI, Pls. b. pp. 290-91 & f. p., 294.
N <sub>29</sub>	8	Chinchani plates of Indra III	926	EI, XXXII, Pls. b. pp. 52-53.
	5	Sangli grant of Govinda	933	IA, XII, Pls. b. pp. 250-51.

	4, 9	A grant of Amoghavarsha	972	<i>IA</i> , XII, Pls. b. pp. 266-67.
N <sub>30</sub>	0, 1, 3, 4, 5	Grant of Mūlarāja of Anhilavāḍa	986	<i>IA</i> , VI, Pls. b. pp. 192-93.
N <sub>31</sub>	1, 5, 9	Janjirā plates of Aparājita	993	<i>CII</i> , VI, Pls. IX-XII
	0, 2, 6	Bhādān grant of Aparājita	997	<i>CII</i> , VI, Pls. XVIII- XX



	N <sub>16</sub>	N <sub>17</sub>	N <sub>18</sub>	N <sub>19</sub>	N <sub>20</sub>	N <sub>21</sub>	N <sub>22</sub>	N <sub>23</sub>	N <sub>24</sub>	N <sub>25</sub>	N <sub>26</sub>	N <sub>27</sub>	N <sub>28</sub>	N <sub>29</sub>	N <sub>30</sub>	N <sub>31</sub>
0			०		०			०			०	०			०	०
1	१		१	१	१			१			१	१			१	१
2	२		२	२				२		२	२	२	१			२
3	३						३	३		३	३	३			३	
4			४			४		४		४		४	४	४	४	
5			५	५		५	५	५	५	५	५	५		५	५	५
6			६					६			६					६
7					७			७		७			७			
8						८		८	८			८	८	८		
9	९	९			९	९		९	९	९		९	९	९		९
		७०					३०	१०	१०							
		२००					८००		५०							
									८०							
									५००	५००						

NUMERALS

References for Plate 177  
(11th-13th Century)

Table	Numeral	Inscription	Date in A.D.	Reference
N <sub>32</sub>	0, 1, 4, 7	Bihar grant of Śaurāditya	1020	<i>EI</i> , XXXV, Pls. b. pp. 134-35.
	2, 5	Tarachandi inscription of Pratāp-dhavalā	1168	<i>EI</i> , XXXIV, Pls. b. pp. 26-27.
	3	Mahulpārā plates of Mahāśivagupta-Dharmarath	—	<i>EI</i> , XXXVII, Pls. b. pp. 228-29.
N <sub>33</sub>	1, 5, 7	Gayā inscription of the time of Muiz-zuddin	1200	<i>JBRS</i> , LII, Pl. VII.
	2, 3	Gayā epigraph of Balban	1268	<i>JBRS</i> , LIII, Pl. XXXIV.
N <sub>34</sub>	1 to 9	Kurethā grants of Malayavarmā	1220 & 1247	<i>EI</i> , XXX, Pls. b. pp. 148-49.
N <sub>35</sub>	6, 8	Chandrāvātī plates of Chandra	1093 & 1097	<i>EI</i> , XIV, Pls. b. pp. 194-95 & f. pp. 196 & 198.
	1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 9	Some Gāhaḍavāl grants	—	<i>EI</i> , XXXV, Pls. b. pp. 208-09, 212-13, 214-15, & 218-19.
N <sub>36</sub>	0 to 9	Ratanpur inscription Jājalla I	1114	<i>CII</i> , IV, Pl. LXVA.

N <sub>37</sub>	0 to 9	Konī inscription of Prithvideva II	1148	<i>CII</i> , IV, Pl. LXXIII.
N <sub>38</sub>	0 to 9	Ajayagaḍh inscription of Kirttivarmā	—	<i>EI</i> , XXX, Pl. f. p. 90.
N <sub>39</sub>	0 to 9	Māndhātā plates of Devapāla	1225	<i>EI</i> , IX, Pls. b. pp. 110-11.
N <sub>40</sub>	0 to 9	Inscription of the time of Hammīr	1288	<i>EI</i> , XIX, Pl. f. p., 50.
N <sub>41</sub>	1, 3, 7, 9	Pāldī inscription of Arisimha	1116	<i>EI</i> , XXX, Pl. f. p., 10.
N <sub>42</sub>	0 to 9	Baraudī inscription of the time of Gopāla	1279	<i>EI</i> , XXXIII, Pl. f. p., 34.
N <sub>43</sub>	0 to 9	A grant of Trilochanpāla	1050	<i>IA</i> , XII, Pls. b. pp. 202-03.
N <sub>44</sub>	0 to 9	Thāṇā plates of Mummunirāja	1048	<i>CII</i> , VI, Pls. XXXVII-XLI.
N <sub>45</sub>	0, 1, 3, 8	Bassein inscription of Mallikārjuna	1161	<i>CII</i> , VI, Pl. LXVII.
N <sub>46</sub>	0 to 9	Methī inscription of Kṛishṇa	1254	<i>EI</i> , XXVIII, Pl. f. p., 319.
N <sub>47</sub>	0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9	Grants of Mahārājakula Jayasimha	1290	<i>EI</i> , XXXII, Pls. b. pp. 222-23 & f. p., 225.



	N <sub>32</sub>	N <sub>33</sub>	N <sub>34</sub>	N <sub>35</sub>	N <sub>36</sub>	N <sub>37</sub>	N <sub>38</sub>	N <sub>39</sub>	N <sub>40</sub>	N <sub>41</sub>	N <sub>42</sub>	N <sub>43</sub>	N <sub>44</sub>	N <sub>45</sub>	N <sub>46</sub>	N <sub>47</sub>
0	o				o	o	o	o	o		o	o	o	o	o	o
1	ᳵ	ᳶ	᳷	᳸	᳹	ᳺ	᳻	᳼	᳽	᳾	᳿	᳠	᳡	᳢	᳣	᳤
2	ᳶ	᳷	᳸	᳹	ᳺ	᳻	᳼	᳽	᳾		᳿	᳠	᳡		᳢	᳣
3	ᳵ	ᳶ	᳷	᳸	᳹	ᳺ	᳻	᳼	᳽	᳾	᳿	᳠	᳡	᳢	᳣	᳤
4	ᳵ		ᳶ		᳷	᳸	᳹	ᳺ	᳻		᳼	᳽	᳾		᳿	᳠
5	ᳵ	ᳶ	᳷	᳸	᳹	ᳺ	᳻	᳼	᳽		᳿	᳠	᳡		᳢	
6			ᳵ	ᳶ	᳷	᳸	᳹	ᳺ	᳻		᳼	᳽	᳾		᳿	᳠
7		ᳶ	᳷	᳸	᳹	ᳺ	᳻	᳼	᳽	᳾	᳿	᳠	᳡		᳢	᳣
8			ᳵ	ᳶ	᳷	᳸	᳹	ᳺ	᳻		᳼	᳽	᳾	᳿	᳠	᳡
9			ᳵ	ᳶ	᳷	᳸	᳹	ᳺ	᳻	᳼	᳽	᳾	᳿		᳠	᳡

NUMERALS

MISCELLANEOUS SIGNS

A. SIGNS FOR OM

I	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ
II	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ
III	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ
IV	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ

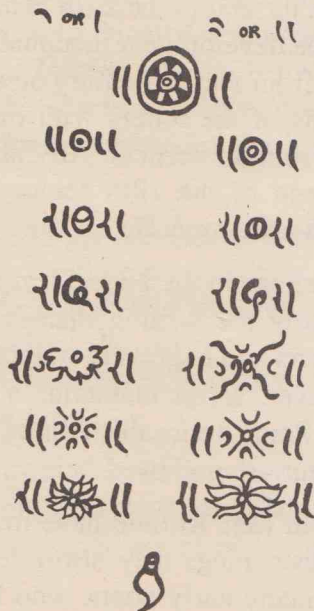
B. JIHVĀMULĪYA



C. UPADHMĀNĪYA



D. PUNCTUATION MARK ETC.



# 7

## Conclusions

Nāgarī is the outcome of evolutionary process of Mauryan Brāhmī script and any consideration on its independent origin is superfluous. From Mauryan to the middle of the sixth century A.D., only a few letters resemble counterparts in Nāgarī. While towards the end of the sixth century, with the emergence of the Kuṭila alphabet, the development in alphabet towards Nāgarī moves fast. Most of the letters, from the 7th century onwards undergo the process of development in forms of the letters with only the difference of full covering head-line and straight vertical. All characteristics of the Nāgarī appear first about the end of the 10th century and approaches mature Nāgarī form by the 13th century A.D.

There are some variations in the Nāgarī script of different regions due to various factors, namely the writing material, the writing technique, different schools of writers and engravers and their individual interest and mannerisms, etc. However, script maintains a sort of unity during the developmental process. Some noticeable factors which are responsible for such type of development are reviewed below:

Learned persons from time to time have migrated from one place to the other and among other things they also affected writing styles. Rājaśekhara has stated that many early poets, who had travelled widely, had



benefited their country-men by making use of their experience in those alien lands in their literary compositions.<sup>1</sup> Rājaśekhara himself was a Maharashtrian Brāhmaṇa, stayed in the court of the Imperial Pratihāras, married a Chāhmāna lady Avantisundarī<sup>2</sup> king Indra III. The Kashmiri, poet, Bilhaṇa, travelled to South India and in the court of king Vikramāditya of Kalyāṇa, he composed his *Vikramāṅkadeva Charitra*.<sup>3</sup> Jayānaka, the noted Kashmiri poet, made a journey to the court of Prithvirāja III. Dhanapāla, of U.P., spent a major part of his life at the court of Paramāra rulers and lastly settled at Satyapura in Rajasthan. Similarly, Śrīharsha, who was probably a Bengali by birth, was patronised by Jayachandra, the Gāhaḍavāla king of Kanauja.<sup>4</sup> This point becomes more clear by the example of Paṭṭadakal pillar inscription of the time of Chālukya Kirtivarmā II (A.D. 754) which was engraved in the southern as well as in proto-Nāgarī characters. The northern characters were surely due to the Brāhmaṇas from Northern India, for whom the pillar was set up.<sup>5</sup> Sometimes, it is also noticed that the writer and engraver belonged to two distinct places and might have influenced the alphabet considerably.<sup>6</sup>

Along with the writers and engravers the donee also had a role in the migration of the script. For example, most of the Rāshtrakūṭa grants written in proto-Nāgarī or Nāgarī were donated to the Brāhmaṇas who had come from the different parts of Northern India. It may be due to the fact that perhaps the receiver of the charters did not follow the matter written in southern scripts or the donor was under the influence of these learned scholars.

The establishment of larger kingdoms also encouraged a uniform system of writing within the dominions where divergent systems were prevalent. In consequence many diversities of the alphabet disappeared and with the skilled hand of the royal writer and engraver the script developed in unidirection. Sometimes writers were chosen from the newly conquered country by the king.

Raids and conquests from time to time have also shared in the migration of scripts. For example with the expansion of Harśha's power, in the early part of the 7th century, the script of the west reached the Middle

Gaṅgā Valley. Nāgarī seems to have infiltrated into the Punjab in the wake of the armies of king Bhoja of Mālava and Kaṇa of Tripurī, which came to liberate it from the Turks and reached up to Kāṅgaḍā. The first Nāgarī inscription in the Punjab is a Jaina record of A.D. 1240 at Baijanāth.<sup>7</sup>

Sometimes the writers and engravers were brought from the important centres. As V.B. Kolte states:

It may be that after the victory of Indra III over Kanauj and the temporary exile of king Mahīpāla, Rājaśekhara had gone to the royal court of the Rāshtrakūṭas and stayed with Indra III where he might have composed this panegyric.<sup>8</sup>

Several important educational centres were established by the philomath kings, where people used to come from different parts of the country to take education. Varanasi was one such centre<sup>9</sup> which attracted students from far-off places. Mammaṭabhāṭa, a native of Kashmir, had his early education at Varanasi.<sup>10</sup>

Kanauj was another great centre of learning. This centre produced several learned scholars like Rājaśekhara, Kshemeśvara, Bhaṭṭa Lakshmidhara, Śrīharsha & c. who served in the royal court of Kanauja.

Kashmir too was an important educational centre.<sup>11</sup> Students from distant places like Pāṭaliputra and Bengal went there to study.

In Rajasthan, there were several educational centres like Bhīnmāl, Ābū, Chitor, Ajmer, Kumāravihāra. Valabhī was a great and renowned centre flourishing in Kāthiāwāḍa. Dhāra and Māṇḍu were the important educational centres of Madhya Pradesh. Pāṭaliputra was the important seat of learning in Eastern India.

Different types of persons were engaged in writing works. Royal charters were generally written by the skilled hand of professional writers and engraved by artists. Public records were often written and engraved by the persons who were generally not professional or skilled writers. Due to these factors the royal inscriptions show the use of a standard form



of writing whereas different new apprentices were given a chance to work on personal records. Likewise, the religious manuscripts were very often copied in their old characters which made the script conventional. The divergence of Jaina-Nāgarī is a good example of it. In day-to-day writing, copyists were not bound to use only the standard form of letters. In consequence rapid evolution took place in such types of work. The writing style, writing materials, the taste for ornamentation, desire for speed, etc., all affected the course of the development of scripts. It is surely the consequence of speedy writing in daily use which is responsible for the development of cursive scripts like Gujarātī, Mahājanī, Kaithī, etc. Apparently, these scripts ultimately developed from Nāgarī with a view to write with speed.

With the expansion of Muslim power and extinction of the Hindu kingdoms after 12th century A.D. the task of inscription writing subsequently became secondary specially in Northern India because there was a fall in tradition of landgrants. Manuscript writing had become the common tradition and almost a religious practice, especially among Jains with a view to escape destruction by the Muslim invaders. But in manuscript writing copyists generally tried to follow the old alphabet too, and therefore the development in script became stagnant after the 13th century A.D. With the invention of the printing press and the typewriter, script became fully stereotyped and standardised. Now only the standard forms are employed in such type of works so the natural path of evolution of alphabets has become blocked. Now the necessities of the press and the demands of smaller types are so important that any change in the script can be thought of only with a view to suit the machine.

Thus it can be concluded that the Nāgarī script developed from the Mauryan Brāhmī for about sixteen centuries and then after the thirteenth century A.D. onwards it became almost stagnant. The mechanization during last hundred years or so has standardised the alphabet. If there is any future for the Nāgarī it is bound with mechanical needs.



## Notes and References

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2. *Karpūramañjaṇī*, I, 11.
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4. *Ibid.*
5. Fleet, J.F., *EI*, III, p., 5: "*Gaṃgāyā uttara-kule Mṛigthaṇikāhāra vishayādihāgatena.*"
6. Bühler, "The Dewal Praśasti of Lalla the Chhinda," *EI*, I, p., 81:  
*"Vishṇuharestanayenacha Likhitā Gauḍena Karaṇikenaiśhā |*  
*Kuṭilāksharāṇi vidushā Takshādityābhidhānena ||*  
*Kanyakuvjāgatenāpi kāmadevasutena cha |*  
*Utkirṇṇā Somanāthena Taṇkavijñānaśalinā ||"*
7. Vidyalankar, Jaya Chandra, *The Language and Script Problem in Punjab*, Hindi Bhavan, 1966, p., 110.
8. "Two grants of Rāshtrakūṭa Indra III from Vajirkheḍa," *EI*, XXXVIII, p., 14.
9. The Rewah inscription of Malayasimha of A.D. 1192 mentions that Purushottam, the composer of the praśasti and also an inhabitant of Varanasi, was well-versed in Logic, Grammar, mimāṃsā, Vedānta and Yoga philosophy, *EI*, XIX, pp. 26-27.
10. Ray, S.C., *Early History and Culture of Kashmir*, Calcutta 1957, p., 180.
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